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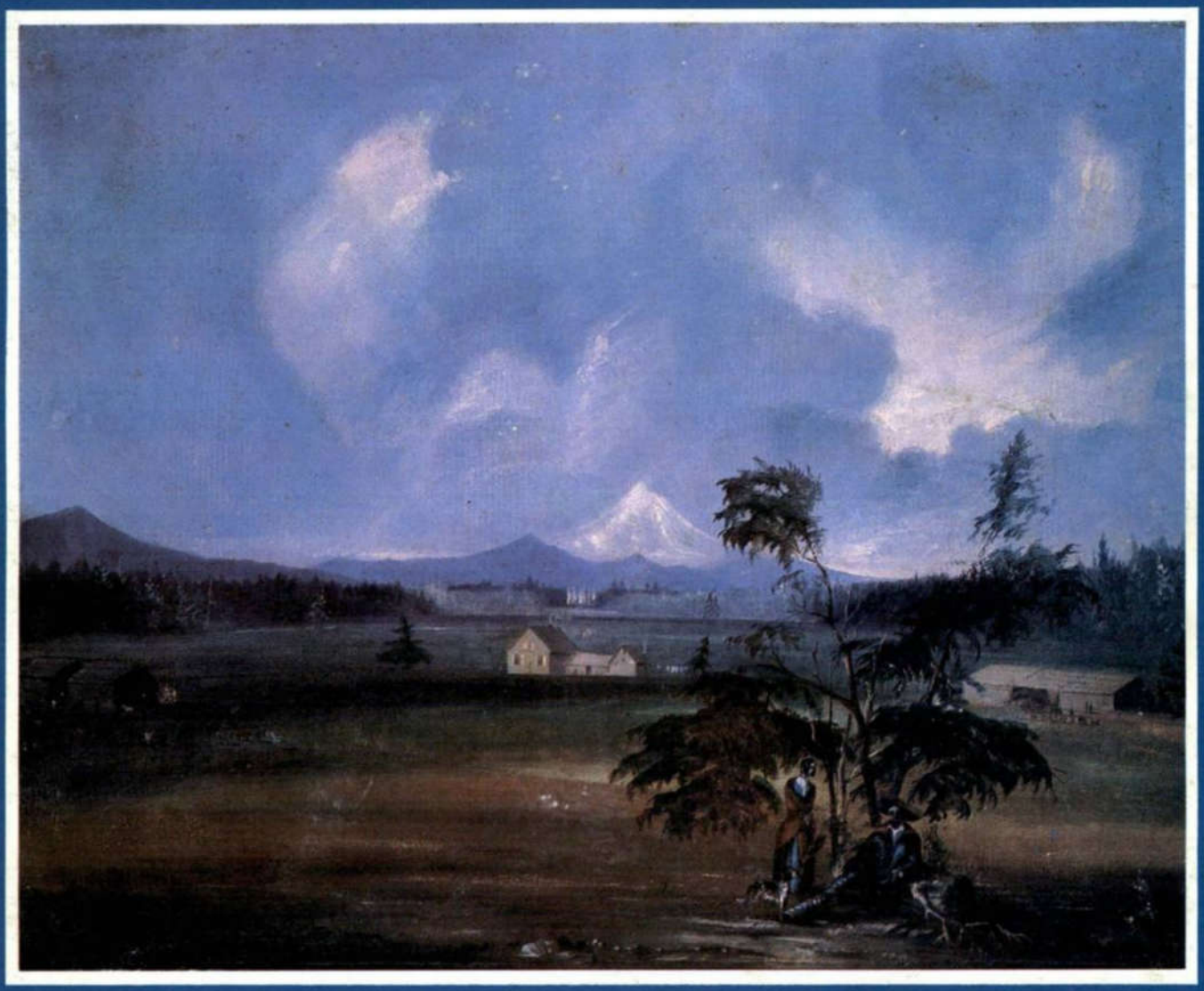

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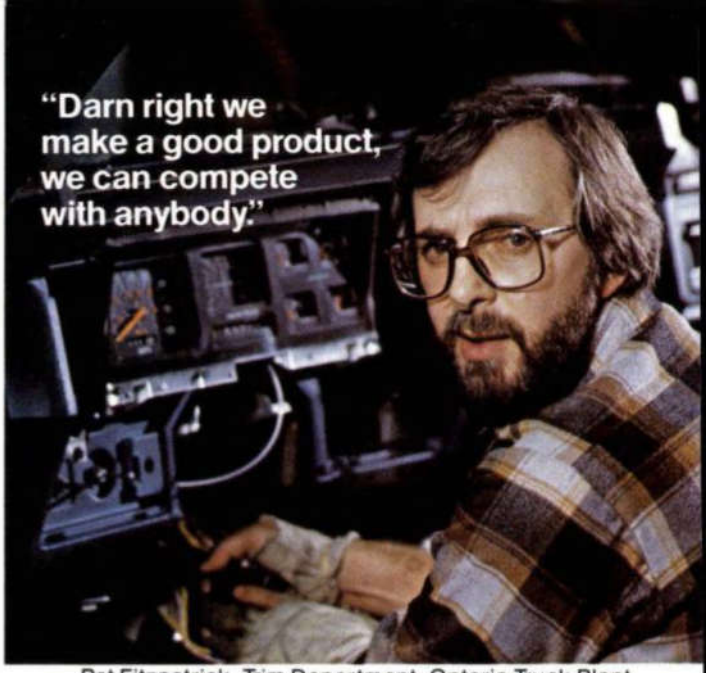

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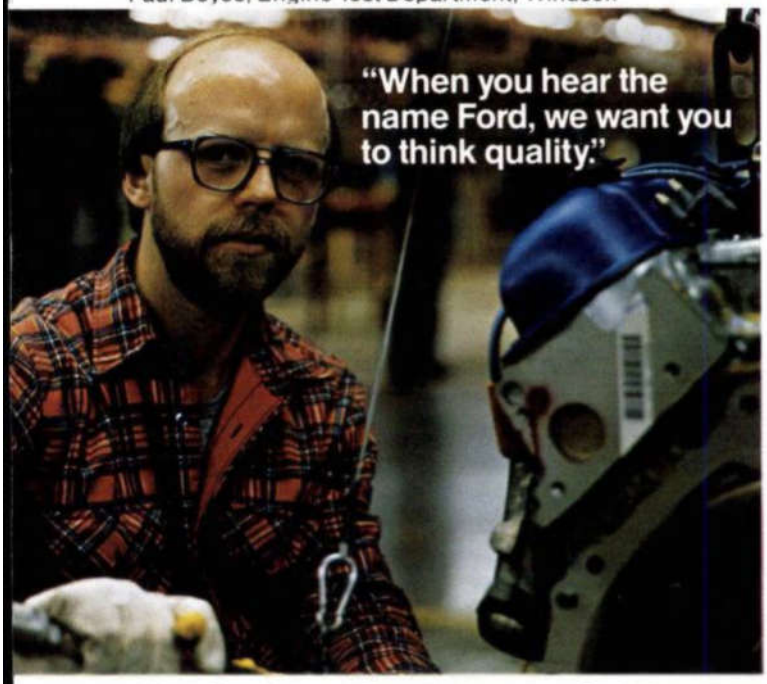

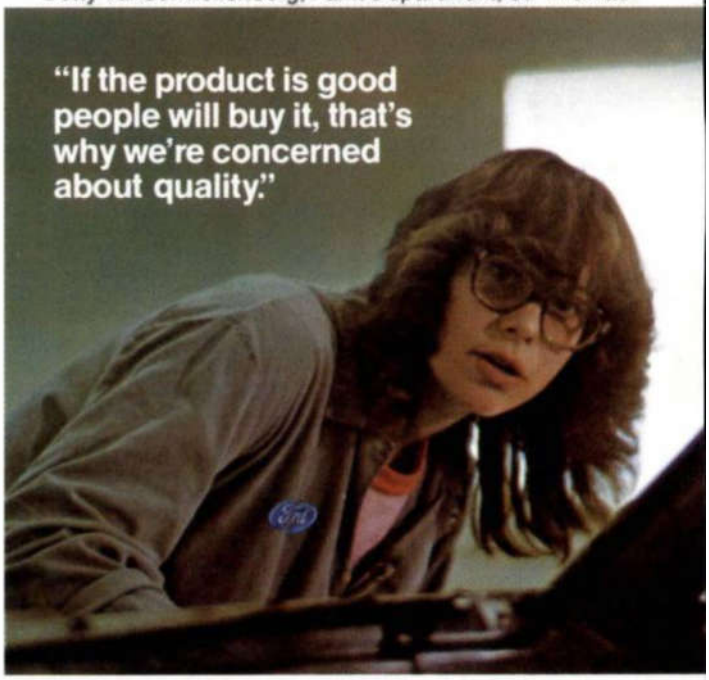

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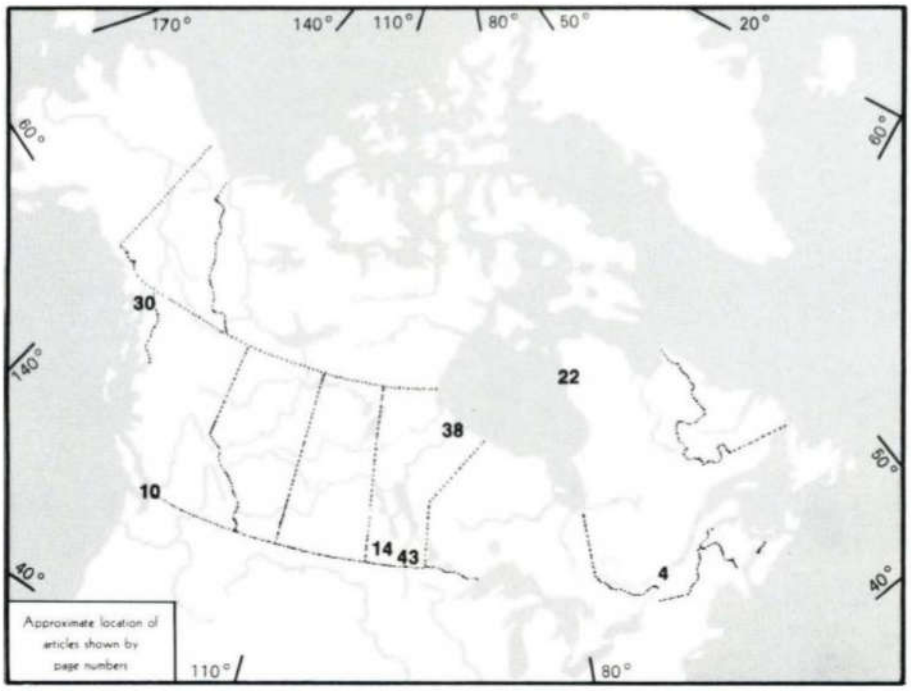

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COVER: 'Mount Hood from the East', oil on canvas, 39.5 cm x 52 cm (15½" x 20½"). This painting is believed to be the work of Paul Kane, and was probably one of the twelve oil paintings that were displayed in Sir George Simpson's dining-room at Isle Dorval. The widow of Simpson's grandson owned the six large paintings, including this one, that are now in the William Richardson Coe Collection, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

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SIR GEORGE SIMPSON: COLLECTOR

By Susan Stewart

Hugh Dodd Fine Art, Edinburgh

'Métis Chasing a Buffalo Herd'. Oil on paper, 20.7 cm x 34.3 cm. One of the six sketches by Paul Kane, recently found and photographed before restoration.

Coe Collection, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University

WHEN SIR GEORGE SIMPSON DIED at Lachine, Quebec, in 1860, an inventory was taken of his personal possessions.

From 1826 until his death, Simpson had been, in effect, the Company's overseas Governor, supervising the trading operations of the Company from the King's Posts in the east to the Pacific Coast and the Sandwich Islands. During this period of intensive travel and contact with the Indian people, he amassed a valuable collection of natural science and ethnological specimens, paintings and sketches.

His interests closely paralleled those of the Company whose Board supported the scientific interests of such institutions as the Smithsonian and the Royal Scottish Museum. Evidence that the Company was also interested in collecting artifacts of this kind from its territories is to be found in an early publication entitled *Catalogue of the Museum:* an inventory of Indian articles deposited at Hudson's Bay House in London. In this catalogue the section on Indian curiosities is subdivided into articles of clothing and ornament, domestic utensils and tools, warlike implements, specimens of carving and other classifications.

The inventory of Simpson's estate shows that he possessed a variety of natural science specimens, including 'porcupine quills, bird skins, specimens of minerals' and '5 pairs Antlers valued at One dollar each pair' which were displayed in the hall of his home at Lachine. Nor was it uncommon for him to

Regarding the sketch, left, Simpson wrote: '. . . a side view would have given a better idea of the appearance of the animals'. The buffalo herd is shown more clearly in the oil painting below. Simpson displayed this painting in the dining-room at his home at Isle Dorval. It is one of six large works obtained from the widow of Simpson's grandson and is now in the William Richardson Coe Collection at Yale University.

For more than a century, the fate of a number of the Kane sketches commissioned by Sir George Simpson was unknown. Six were located by Susan Stewart of Vancouver in 1979, as she researched her thesis, 'The Hudson's Bay Company's Contribution to the Work of the Three Artists in Their Territory, 1821-1860', for an M.A. in art history at the University of British Columbia.

Hugh Dodd Fine Art, Edinburgh

'Castle Rock, Columbia River'. Oil on paper, 21.8 cm x 30.6 cm., c. 1847. One of the six sketches recently found, and one of four delivered to Simpson in January 1849. Photographed before restoration and covered with bloom or mould, the result of being stored for many years in damp conditions.

make gifts of this type to friends and business acquaintances. In his letter of 30 June 1857 he wrote to Matthew Clark in London that the Wapiti or Red Deer's head being sent 'is a very fine specimen; and will be found, I hope, deserving a place in the Hall of "Morgan House".'

Other items listed in his inventory were 'one pair of Quill worked Bracelets', 'four stone pipeheads', 'a Case number Seven containing Bark Work valued at Fifteen dollars' and 'A large Collection of Indian and other Curiosities, Weapons, Ornaments, &c valued at Two Hundred Dollars'.

Relatively little is known about Simpson's motivation for collecting or about his knowledge and appreciation for individual items. He seems, however, to have taken a good deal of personal interest in his collection. In a hastily written letter to Angus McDonald at Fort Nisqually he included detailed instructions for the case containing five packages of curiosities. He went so far as to specify that the packages containing dresses be 'taken out of the packages some warm sunny day, so as to have them aired and repacked, putting some Tobacco, Camphor and Pepper in the boxes, which I understand is a preservative from Moth.'

Almost undoubtedly the collection was a source of pride for Simpson, to be displayed to friends and acquaintances. As Governor he held an influential position in Montreal business and society, and lived in a luxurious manner. His possessions included jewellery, furs, silver, a dozen chairs with his crest carved on them, and an extensive wine cellar, later sold at auction. He entertained frequently, as indicated by this excerpt from a letter from Lady Simpson to her brother George W. Simpson.

> When he is here he is so well known to everybody that we have constant invitations to go out, or else people here — which breaks the monotony of the life we live.

The art objects which were distributed throughout the house at Lachine included the Stephen Pearce portrait of Sir George Simpson, one of Samuel McTavish, a Venetian drinking figure, two views of Fort Vancouver, engravings of the Prince of Wales, Lords Elgin and Metcalfe; a view of Potiphar's wife, as well as Indian curiosities. His farm opposite Isle Dorval contained many other Indian artifacts and works of art which were enumerated according to their location in the house. In the drawing-room were

three chromo lithographs, water-coloured drawings of Isle Dorval and glass cases of stuffed birds. In the dining-room there were twelve oil paintings, which included the portrait of Simpson (this was probably another version of the Pearce portrait, since five of these exist), six engravings and a photograph.

While the broad range of Simpson's collection might suggest that he was merely an indiscriminate accumulator, several pieces of evidence indicate that this was not the case. His collecting was apparently directed toward subjects of which he had first-hand knowledge from his extensive travels in the territories. Similarly, the artworks he owned were connected to people and places he knew.

Sir George's patronage of the artist Paul Kane provides further evidence of the personal interest he took in collecting. After meeting Kane in late March 1846 and seeing his sketches, Simpson permitted the artist to travel west with the Company's fur brigades and extended Company support to an unprecedented degree. It was not usual that board, lodging and transportation be so generously given, free of charge; but without such assistance Kane's most noted work would not have been produced.

In 1847, before Kane had made his reputation, Simpson commissioned a dozen sketches from the artist. He described the subject matter in an explicit way and gave his plans to display the art. Apparently he had given the matter careful consideration. He wrote to Kane:

> I should feel greatly obliged if you would take for me some sketches of buffalo hunts, Indian camps, Councils, feasts, Conjuring dances, warlike exhibitions or any other scenes of savage life that you may consider likely to be attractive or interesting, with a view to their being coloured and framed, & of equal size so as to match each other . . . I intend the sketches applied for . . . to be framed and hung up in a room I design as a museum for Indian curiosities.

In January of 1849, three months after Kane's return from the western trip, Simpson received ten of these sketches. Some of them had recently been exhibited in Kane's Toronto exhibition which was held at the Toronto City Hall in late 1848. Many of the works in the exhibition were small oil sketches on paper, and formed the basis for larger oil on canvas works which Kane completed at his leisure in his Toronto studio. While the small size of these sketches makes it unlikely that they would have suited the purpose envisaged by Simpson, it is perhaps noteworthy that the group of ten works was sent to Sir George Simpson at a time when Kane had few, if any, large scale works completed.

In a covering letter to Simpson, Kane promised four other sketches. Although we do not know if

The items in the column are still in the possession of Simpson's great-great-grandson. Below, an Indian bark box top with porcupine quill embroidery. 2 cm long, 2.5 cm high, 11 cm wide.

Susan Stewart

Susan Stewart

Northwest Coast panel pipe of argillite. Before 1860. 19 cm x 7 cm.

Susan Stewart

Five ornamental paddles ranging in length from 32 cm to 41 cm.

Susan Stewart

'Waterfall'. An unsigned water-colour, 17.7 cm x 25.5 cm, found in the box of Canadian items belonging to Simpson's great-great-grandson.

Coe Collection, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University

'Kakabeka Falls'. This painting, attributed to Paul Kane, would have been one of twelve oil paintings displayed in the dining-room of Simpson's farm-house at Isle Dorval.

these were ever completed, Simpson acquired other works, both oil sketches and canvases, from Kane at various times. The inventory of Simpson's estate is of little assistance in quantifying Kane's works owned by Simpson, listing only 'a lot of pictures, Sketches in the Indian Country by Paul Kane and others, valued at two dollars the lot' and, from the dining-room of Isle Dorval, 'Twelve oil paintings (including portrait of the late Sir George Simpson) valued at one hundred dollars the lot.'

While investigating the Kane paintings listed in the inventory of Simpson's estate, I contacted a number of descendants in July 1979, and sent them letters asking if they had any knowledge of 'Sketches in the Indian Country by Paul Kane'. Often the letters were returned marked 'Not known at this address'. Then in August I heard from Simpson's great-great-grandson in Great Britain who had recently inherited a box of Canadian items from his mother. He wrote that he had examined the contents of the box and that it contained, among other things, 'various unsigned paintings of Indian scenes'. I immediately sent back a cable to him, asking if he would take photographs of the paintings. He soon replied that he had discovered Kane's signature on one painting and when his photographs arrived they confirmed that the paintings were indeed Kane's work. Their condition was poor, indicating that they had been stored in damp, enclosed places for many years.

In all, the great-great-grandson had six small oil sketches by Kane, together with numerous Indian artworks collected by Sir George. Four of the sketches correspond in subject matter to four of the first group of ten that Simpson received in 1849. Pencil numbers on the back of these works correspond to the subjects listed by number in the catalogue of his Toronto exhibition, and it seems likely that these works were among those exhibited. A fifth sketch 'Metis Chasing a Buffalo Herd' is possibly a sketch Simpson acquired in 1846, when Kane was able to paint buffalo hunts near Fort Garry. Regarding this sketch, Simpson remarked in a letter to Kane that 'a side view would have given a better idea of the appearance of the animals'. He asked Kane to make a clearer view. This side view may be a larger oil on canvas now in the Coe Collection at Yale University; it depicts a buffalo hunt, and offers detailed side views of the animals. It is one of six large works obtained from the widow of Simpson's grandson.

Four of these works are almost undoubtedly by Paul Kane. The subject matter of two of them corresponds to two paintings mentioned in 1849 as yet to be delivered by Kane. Thus it is possible that at least some of the last four works received were canvases rather than sketches on paper. If any of the oil paintings in the dining-room were by Kane (which

Susan Stewart

Scrimshaw collected by Simpson. On the left, 'Mars, God of War', and right, 'Neptune, God of the Sea'.

seems likely since Simpson owned the four now in the Coe Collection, and none were listed anywhere else in Simpson's inventory) there may be more canvases for which we have not yet accounted.

Far too little is known about Simpson's collection of paintings by other frontier artists less renowned than Kane. Only a few water-colours of western subjects remain in his descendant's collection. Many of the ethnological specimens were sold in an auction of household effects. This was conducted by Messrs John Leeming and Company in Lachine, 12 December 1860, and included 'curiosities of the Country' — an Indian bark tent, a Blackfoot Indian Leather tent, Buffalo Robes, and a 'Great Variety of Sundries.'

It is not possible to establish the exact extent and nature of Sir George Simpson's varied collections. In his travels and dealings with Indian people across Canada he had unparalleled opportunity to acquire objects little known and unavailable to many. During his lifetime his collection must have been a great source of personal pride and pleasure for him. ◆

Ancient Salish Weaving: An Art Revived

By Paula Gustafson

The pottery and weavings of Paula Gustafson have been presented in major exhibitions in several countries over the past fifteen years.

Author of 'Salish Weaving', she has now completed research for a book on Chilkat weaving.

Salish Weavers Guild

Mary Peters of the Seabird Island Reserve weaves one of the tapestries for the Hotel Bonaventure in Montreal. The commission for six tapestries in 1966 established the ancient art on a commercial basis.

IN 1966, the Spring issue of *The Beaver* featured an article by Oliver N. Wells about the ancient art of Salish weaving and how it had been rediscovered through the interest of Wells and three Indian women in the Fraser Valley of British Columbia. Today, nearly twenty years later, Salish weaving is a thriving industry for more than sixty members of the Salish Weavers Guild of Sardis, B.C.

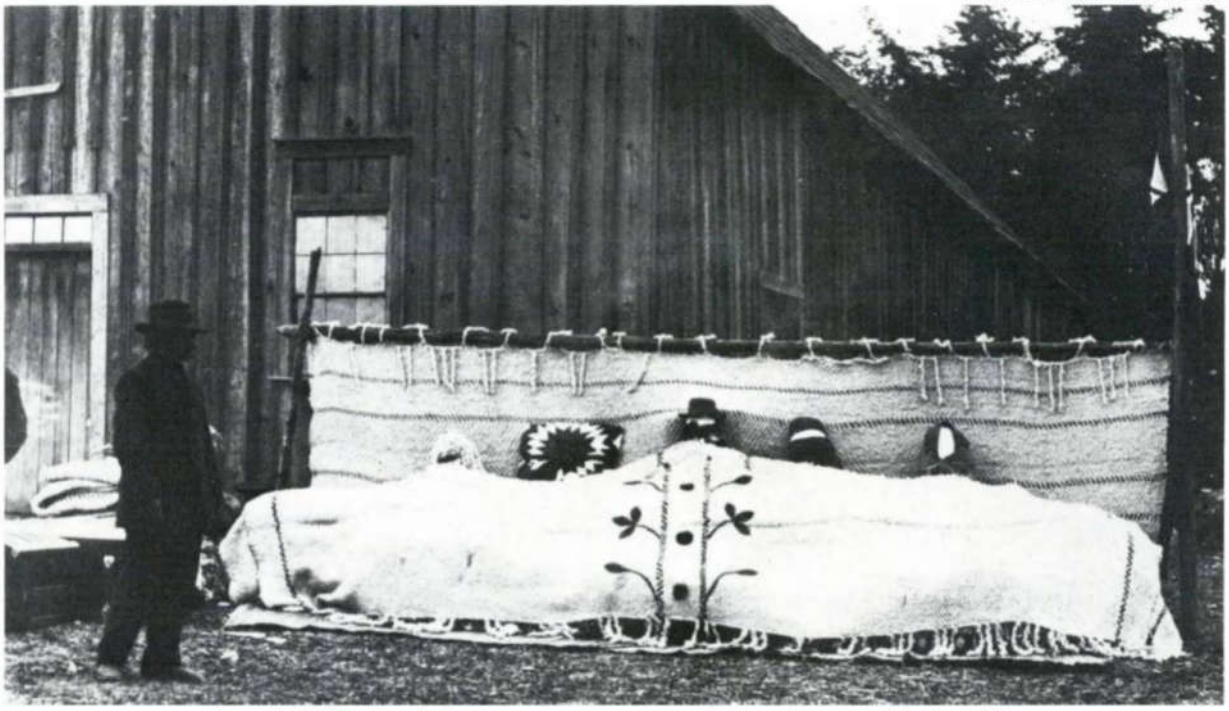
'If Oliver hadn't written the article — and if someone from the Hotel Bonaventure hadn't read it and commissioned those six tapestries — well, I guess I probably wouldn't be doing this right now.' Josephine Kelly smiled as she finished spreading clumps of washed fleece on the outdoor drying rack. 'Maybe I never would have got so involved with Salish weaving.'

The early morning sun felt warm on our faces as we walked back down the path to Josephine and Mike Kelly's home on the Soowahlie Reserve near Chilliwack in British Columbia's Fraser Valley. From a distance the fleece had the appearance of soggy white clouds resting on the wire mesh of the rack. The sun and gentle breeze would dry it into fluff while we talked over coffee in Josephine's kitchen. Later the fleece would be carded, spun, dyed and woven into colourful Salish weavings not unlike the ceremonial blankets Salish women made centuries ago.

Long before the first explorers reached the Pacific Northwest Coast, the art of weaving was practised by the Salish people. The archaeological dig at Ozette at the tip of Cape Flattery has turned up an ancient twill-woven blanket. Simon Fraser noted similar weavings when he travelled through the Fraser Canyon in 1808. Examples of twill-woven blankets and of the other kind of weaving practised by the Salish — twine weaving — were collected by Cook, Vancouver and the early Spanish captains.

'The old blankets are so beautiful,' Josephine commented as she picked up an unfinished Cowichan sweater to knit on while we waited for the coffee to perk. 'And the yarn was so finely spun. It must have taken almost a year to weave just one blanket.'

Provincial Museum of British Columbia



Large Salish blankets displayed at a commemorative potlatch on Vancouver Island, c. 1900.

Traditionally woven of hair from the mountain goat, the blankets were used by the Salish for comforts such as bedding and warm robes, and were in demand as items for inter-tribal trade. The more elaborate weavings were made for the potlatches and winter ceremonies which were so much a part of Indian life.

Over the centuries, the cultural and economic qualities of Salish blankets became a basis on which other trade goods were valued. When Edward S. Curtis noted in his diary that earlier 'five blankets, a deerskin shirt and a fathom of shells would purchase . . . one ocean-going canoe' he was describing a trade balance. Ironically, it was the introduction of Hudson's Bay Company point blankets into the Salish economy that upset this balance and spelled the downfall of the ancient textile art.

In the 1850s, a one-point blanket could be obtained by trading sixty fresh salmon to the Hudson's Bay post. During good salmon runs, it was easier and quicker to catch fish than to weave blankets. The warm and colourful point blankets were acceptable substitutes for the traditional Salish weavings. By the end of the century, only a few of the old women still made Salish blankets for ceremonial use, or to please the itinerant anthropologists who by then had begun to discover the scope of Pacific Northwest Coast Indian culture.

When Oliver N. Wells began his enquiries about Salish textiles in 1963, the art of Salish weaving was almost lost. 'The coming of the white man in the gold rush', he wrote 'and the missionaries' determination that the native must discard his old customs and dress were the final blows which stilled the fingers of the native women. Their ancient craft of loom weaving was gradually forgotten by succeeding generations. In an effort to re-establish the craft among the Stalo people the writer prevailed upon Mrs Lorenzetto to make a goat-hair blanket.'

Wells was the grandson of a pioneer Fraser Valley family. He had been researching the weaving of mats and baskets made by the Salish women when he encountered three traditional Salish blankets still in the possession of Stalo Indians in the Chilliwack area. The owners of these blankets were elderly when Wells talked to them in 1963; none of them remembered seeing Salish weaving being done when they were younger.

Wells's curiosity about the old blankets led him to Adeline Lorenzetto of the Ohamil Reserve who had always processed and spun her own wool for knitting. She was as intrigued as Wells about the old weavings. Together, Mrs Lorenzetto and Wells devised a small, lap-sized loom and, after carefully unravelling part of a blanket, set out to duplicate the old weaving technique.

Word of the experiment passed down the valley. Wells soon heard that, of her own initiative, Mary Peters of the Seabird Island Reserve was trying to reproduce the Salish weaving she remembered her

grandmother doing. As with Mrs Lorenzetto, Wells encouraged Mrs Peters and, during the next two years, the two women continued to develop their weaving skills.

'And that's when Oliver wrote the article and the revival of Salish weaving really got started.' Josephine's dark eyes sparkled as she recalled the fun and hard work that went into creating the tapestries for the Hotel Bonaventure. The six panels totalled close to 21 square metres [225 square feet] and they had to be ready in three months.

'What a time that was! A hundred and fifty pounds of fleece had to be washed, carded, spun and dyed. I don't think I did anything else during those months except get yarn ready for Mary and Adeline to weave with. And Oliver had to shear his sheep early to get enough fleece.' Josephine's smile broadened as she added, 'It wasn't yet spring, so we tied old blankets on the sheep to keep them warm!'

With the help of the Wells family and several friends, the tapestries were ready on time. The news about the weaving project spread throughout the community. Several women from the nearby Skwah Reserve were caught up in the excitement; they too

Marie Weeden

The late Oliver Wells and his wife Sara display a contemporary Salish weaving by Mary Peters. The tapestry is patterned after a historical Salish weaving now in a museum in Perth, Scotland.

Bob Warick

Fleece dries on the rack at Josephine Kelly's home on the Soowahlie Reserve near Sardis, B.C. Over 300 weavings are produced and marketed each year by the Guild at Sardis.

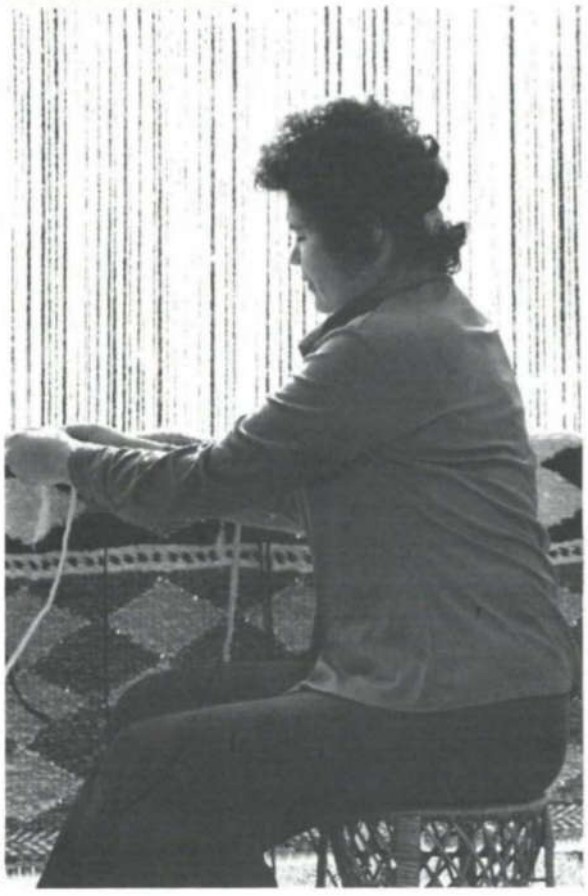
wanted to try the newly found art of Salish weaving.

During the next several years, the number of Salish weavers grew as more and more Stalo women became expert in the age-old craft. Many of their looms were built by Wells. He also provided the weavers with fleece from his sheep, bought the finished weavings and arranged for their display and resale at no profit to himself. With his assistance, the revival of Salish weaving seemed well\under way. Then tragedy struck. Oliver Wells was killed in an automobile accident while on a trip to Scotland in the autumn of 1970.

'I still miss him. He was always laughing — and he made us laugh too.' Josephine paused at his memory. 'But by then we enjoyed weaving so much we didn't want to stop.'

The Salish Weavers Guild was officially formed in 1971, partly to qualify for federal government funding and partly because the weavers felt the need for continuity through a formal society. They went ahead with plans for opening a retail store, and devised their own unique method of bookkeeping: the fleeces are purchased by the Guild but the washing, carding, spinning and dyeing of the yarn is done by individual members. Sometimes a weaver does her own spinning and dyeing; more often, four or five different pairs of hands will be involved in the processes leading up to a finished weaving. The tallying of which member should be credited with each of the processing steps could be an accounting nightmare except for the co-operative spirit of the weavers themselves.

Anabel Stewart at work on a twine-weave Salish blanket.



Bob Wallace

After a weaving is sold, the price is paid to the weaver, less deductions for yarn previously debited to her account, and for administrative expenses. By removing the immediate financial gratification that would occur if the weavings were paid for on completion rather than when sold, this system reduces the pressure on a weaver to hurry through her work at the expense of her best efforts. And the credit/debit system means that the weavers do not have to disburse any cash for the materials used in the weavings.

Traditionally, Salish girls start to weave when they are in their early teens. There are few formal lessons; they learn by watching and doing. Many of the novice weavers begin with diamond motifs in the weavings, then go on to develop their own designs which are often given names. The design motifs are 'owned' in the sense that each weaver's designs are respected; no other Salish weaver uses that particular design. Some of the patterns are handed down from weaver to weaver, such as the 'Flying Goose' motif used by Mary Peters in the weavings for the Hotel Bonaventure. Now that she no longer weaves, the same design in a modified form is used by her granddaughter.

The Flying Goose has become the emblem of the Salish Weavers Guild, signifying the resurrection of the old ways, just as the Canada geese return each spring to their nesting grounds near the Guild shop in Sardis. The two decades since Oliver Wells initiated the revival of Salish weaving have seen a continuing interest in traditional weaving by the Stalo women — and a few of the Stalo men — with many younger Guild members following in the footsteps of their grandmothers, mothers and aunts. The older members feel confident in leaving the day-to-day administration of the Guild's operations to younger people.

Today, more emphasis is placed on widening the market for the weavings and sustaining the quality of the work. With sixty-three members in the Guild, enough weavings are now being produced to permit marketing through many museum and other gift shops and galleries throughout North America. Interior designers find that Salish weavings are an ideal decoration for stark business offices.

Recently, several Salish weavings were selected by architect Arthur Erickson for display in the office of the prime minister in Ottawa. ◆

Instant City: The Birth of Brandon, 1882

By Eileen M. McFadden

THE YEAR 1982 MARKS THE CENTENNIAL of the City of Brandon, the first of the instant cities created in the early 1880s by the rapid trek of the Canadian Pacific Railway across the prairies to the Pacific. Selection of Brandon's picturesque site, centred in the region which it now serves, came at the last minute — an offshoot of the decision taken by the CPR Syndicate formed in 1881, to build the railway across the southern prairies rather than use any of the previously surveyed routes to the north. This decision altered the character of western development and possibly of Canada itself.

The Canadian prairies were the frontier of agricultural settlement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The general thrust of that settlement was first across the southern prairies and then, later, into the fertile parts of the northern prairie. Had the 1871 Sandford Fleming rail route through the Narrows of Lake Manitoba actually been used, the first railway across the prairies would have missed the productive agricultural lands of southern Manitoba almost entirely. Had any of the routes surveyed in the late seventies been used the likely result would have been the development of centres on other sites — such as Rapid City in the Little Saskatchewan (Minnedosa) River Valley. The use of the southern route brought about the building of new urban centres on virgin soil rather than the expansion of centres already in existence along the northern fur-trade routes.

Brandon was the first such centre created and was the jumping-off point and outfitting centre for the settlement of a large agricultural region. It gained a firm foundation as an urban centre, and a city charter during the first two years of its existence. When the land speculation boom of the early eighties collapsed, Brandon declined somewhat but it never lost its status or its stature as a city. By 1890 it had a population of 3,778. For twenty-five years after its founding it had a greater population than Regina, Calgary or Edmonton. During this period Brandon was a regional centre providing agricultural services such as the Brandon Fair and the Dominion Experimental farm, educational institutions such as Brandon College, and medical and other professional services, which served clientele considerably beyond the south-western Manitoba region.

Before the laying of the railroad and the influx of settlers there was a twenty-five year gestation period leading up to the opening of the new frontier. This period started with the Palliser expedition of 1857 and the Hind expedition of 1858. After Confederation in 1867 events moved quickly: the transfer of Rupert's Land from the Hudson's Bay Company to the Dominion of Canada in 1869, the formation of the Province of Manitoba in 1870 and the unification with British Columbia in 1871. The terms of union with British Columbia included a commitment to start building a railway across the country within two years and to complete it within ten years. The Macdonald government recognized the need to bind the country together; Sir John A. Macdonald himself saw the transcontinental railroad as being essential to attaining true nationhood for Canada. The Dominion Land Survey carried out at this time facilitated the organized granting of land to settlers; and the availability of free homestead land through the homestead system was a great enticement to settlers.

Even before the prospect of rail connections took shape a steady stream of settlers was flowing to the West. They came by rail, boat, or ox-cart south of the Great Lakes and up the Red River Valley to Manitoba. They bought whatever provisions they needed in Winnipeg and then headed on to their destinations by ox-cart or river steamer.

Railway planning on the prairies was initially based on the assumption that settlement and transportation routes should follow the general direction of the cart trails from the Red River Settlement through the fertile lands of the North Saskatchewan river system to Edmonton and then on to the Pacific through the Yellowhead Pass. A more southerly route was not considered wise because

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Eileen McFadden is university archivist for Brandon University, Brandon, Manitoba.

Manitoba Archives

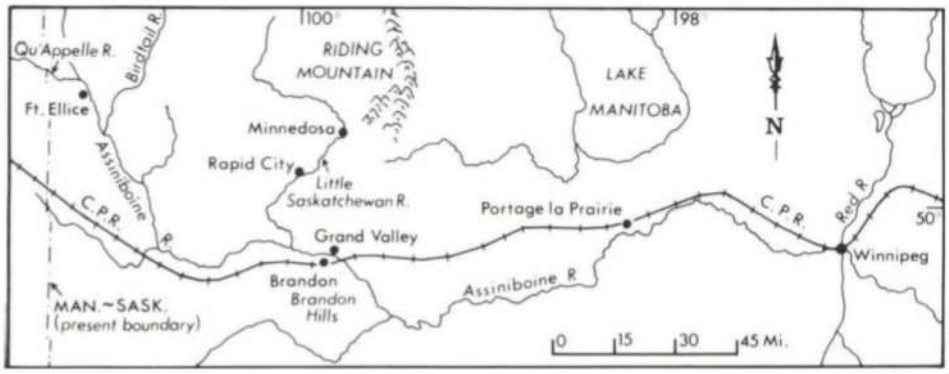
Wheat market on Pacific Avenue, Brandon, 1885.

Palliser and Hind, who had seen the southern prairies at the drier end of the prairie moisture cycle, had reported a near-desert not thought suitable for agriculture. Very extensive railway surveys were carried out during the 1870s for potential routes leading to the Yellowhead Pass. This work was done by the government-operated CPR project under the direction of Sandford Fleming as engineer-in-chief. The lack of commitment to railway building of the Alexander Mackenzie government together with Fleming's peculiar personal mix of genius and inefficiency had begotten a lot of paper in the form of reports but little concrete railway construction. By 1878, the Sir John A. Macdonald government was back in power. With Macdonald's personal sense of vision, commitment to the project, and his ability to conceive and implement a grand plan for the nation, the railway building was on again. There was, however, still no final decision as to the route to be taken. It was becoming more and more clear that a new organization was needed to carry out the project and to operate the railway. This came about with the formation of a private syndicate in the fall of 1880 and with its ratification by parliament in February 1881.

By the late 1870s settlement had moved beyond the then westerly boundary of Manitoba, through the Sand Hills into the pleasantly rolling parkland and prairie country in what is now the south-western region of Manitoba, bounded on the north by Riding Mountain and on the south by the Manitoba-North Dakota boundary. This region was a part of the North-West Territories until the Manitoba boundary was extended westward in 1881 to near the present location. The Assiniboine River wanders through it on a south-easterly course through a deep, broad valley, but east of the present site of Brandon there is an area where it has a shallow north bank.

By 1880 some settlement had started along the various projected northern routes for the railway. Land speculation was rife along these routes. John Davis, a student at the Rapid City Academy in the early 1880s, described the situation in Rapid City in his autobiography *The Life Story of a Leper*.

> People got excited and I never saw anything like it in my life. . . . People in Ontario sent money to purchase Rapid City lots lying in the marshy grounds of the river. The excitement ran high all winter, and the man who owned most of the town-plot suddenly became wealthy. He lost his head, was often the worse of liquor, lit his cigar with a five-dollar bill, invested heavily in syndicates dealing in town property, and died a few years later in abject poverty. Rapid City had thousands of surveyed lots but only about fifty buildings. The railway had been surveyed to go through at this point; but a change of government carried it next



Pacific Avenue, Brandon, looking west, 1884.

Notman Collection, McCord Museum, McGill University, Montreal

An outing at Forrest, a few miles north of Brandon, on the Great North West Central Railway, c. 1890. T. Mayne Daly, Jr, first mayor of Brandon, is in the striped jacket.

Manitoba Archives

year twenty miles to the south. Brandon sprang up there and Rapid City collapsed.'

Settlers were coming into the Brandon area by 1877 when three young Nova Scotians, James, William and Fred Lambert set up their Nova Scotia Settlement at the mouth of the Little Saskatchewan. In May of 1879 the Reverend George Roddick, Mrs Roddick, their children and some friends settled in the Blue (Brandon) Hills. In June 1879 Dougald and John McVicar arrived and settled on flat, flood-prone land 'a-straddle' the Assiniboine River — with John homesteading the north half of Section 19, Township 10, Range 19 and Dougald the west half of Section 20 and the south half of Section 19. The north-east corner of John's homestead soon became a townsite. In September Mrs Dougald McVicar, who named the townsite Grand Valley, arrived with her three children. In 1878 the steamboat *Manitoba* was bringing settlers as far as Currie's Landing at the foot of the Grand or Brandon Rapids. By 1879 there was regular steamboat service going above the rapids and on to Fort Ellice provided by the *Alpha* and the *Marquette*. Settlement was running ahead of the building of the railway.

On 15 January 1880, just before he was eased out of office, Sandford Fleming sent a report to Sir Charles Tupper, Minister of Railways and Canals, covering yet another series of surveys outlining the pros and cons of the various options for the location of the railway in which he reports, 'Mr. Smith [Marcus Smith, his assistant] has projected another line "diverging from a point near the 8th mile (from the boundary of Manitoba), and taking a southwest course, which strikes the Valley of the Assiniboine at a little above the Grand Rapids. This would be about 33 miles in length, across a plain of rich land, on which there are a number of settlements, and construction would be very easy."

'. . . I think that a modification of the latter line points to a scheme worthy of the consideration of the Government. If the Railway be carried to a point in the Valley of the Assiniboine, near the mouth of the Little Saskatchewan, where the land remains unsurveyed and ungranted, there might be established the site of a city which would shortly become important. This extension would . . . avoid the very elevated ground, east of the Little Saskatchewan, passed over by the other lines, and which involved ascending and descending gradients of great length; it would have no heavy gradients from the west, and taken with the sections now under contract, it would form a trunk line, extremely favorable for cheap transportation, all the way from Lake Superior to a point commanding a fine agricultural country, and from which desirable colonization lines might, in the near future, diverge (1) to the north west (2) to the west and (3) to the southwest, and thus the projected city would become an important railway and business centre.'

When the CPR Syndicate was formed in 1881 it had a mandate to get the job done, enticed by massive land grants and other entitlements. Already there were some advocates of using a more southerly route led by naturalist John Macoun. In the spring of 1881, in St Paul, Minnesota, there was a meeting of three members of the executive committee of the syndicate with two advisers. The decision made at that meeting changed the course of Canadian history. The three executive members were George Stephen, Richard Bladworth Angus, and James Jerome Hill. The two advisors were John Macoun and Thomas Lafayette Rosser, chief engineer of the CPR and a former major general in the Confederate army and former chief engineer for the Northern Pacific Railroad. Macoun had seen the southern prairie at the opposite end of its moisture cycle to that seen by Palliser and Hind and had concluded that it was capable of becoming an agricultural bread basket. In the late 1870s he began persistently advocating that the railway take a more southerly course than had initially been planned. He had been brought to St Paul to brief the syndicate executives on the potential of taking this more southerly route. In his *Autobiography* he reports that after his presentation, the committee then discussed the matter for about an hour, whereupon Jim Hill slammed his hands on the table and declared 'Gentlemen, we will cross the prairie and go by Bow Pass (Kicking Horse) if we can get that way.' Thus, ten years of costly surveying, planning and operational work was thrown out.

The full rationale for the change in direction has never been entirely clear but there are two reasons which relate directly to the Brandon region. The new route would require far fewer and less costly bridges. In the area north of the site of Brandon on the route surveyed through Rapid City the line would have had to cross the valleys of the Little Saskatchewan, the Birdtail, possibly the Shell, and the upper Assiniboine, all of which have broad, deep valleys with steep grades, whereas the southern route required only the bridging of the Assiniboine where it had a very shallow valley. The second advantage was, in the words of Jim Hill as quoted in Macoun's *Autobiography*, 'If we build this road across the prairie, we will carry every pound of supplies that the settlers want and we will carry every pound of produce that the settlers wish to sell, that we have freight both ways.'

The person directly in charge of building the railway across western Manitoba was the dashing Virginian, General Thomas Lafayette Rosser, a West Point colleague of Custer, who combined some of the qualities usually associated with a southern gentleman with a reputation for derring-do, audacity,

Cook Collection, Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia

General Thomas L. Rosser, chief engineer of the C P R, 1881-1886.

T. Mayne Daly, Jr. Brandon's first lawyer and first mayor.

persistence and impulsiveness. His term with the railway was short because the syndicate regarded his involvement in land speculation in railway communities as conflict of interest. Nonetheless, General Rosser is part of Brandon's lore.

In 1880 in Manitoba it was common speculation that there would be a divisional point wherever the railway crossed the Assiniboine. When the syndicate chose the southern route the already existing community of Grand Valley — 130 miles west of Winnipeg — became the likely location. Late in April 1881 survey crews began to move west of Portage la Prairie. On 2 May 1881, at Portage la Prairie, General Rosser ceremonially turned the first sod on the syndicate's portion of the railway construction.

Speculators and business men began arriving at Grand Valley. Tents and shacks sprang up as, late in April, General Rosser began negotiations with John McVicar to procure McVicar's property as a townsite. Rosser offered McVicar $25,000 but according to various contemporary reports McVicar held out for from $50,000 to $80,000. It was claimed (by Beecham Trotter in *A Horseman and the West*) that Rosser retorted 'I'll be damned if a townsite of any kind is ever built here' and ordered his horses saddled and rode across the Assiniboine to Section 23, a site on the south bank two miles farther west. Hence the location of the City of Brandon was chosen.

The site decision was finalized on 9 May when real estate man Arthur Wellington Ross secured title to Section 23 and Winnipeg surveyor J. W. Vaughan began dividing it into avenues named for Ross and for railway man Alpheus B. Stickney. Lots went on sale on 30 May.

On 28 May, at Grand Valley, Edward W. Low noted in his diary 'Str [Steamer] North West passed here for "Brandon City" with lumber'. Steamboat captain Peter McArthur is given credit with suggesting the name 'Brandon'. In his memoirs, quoted by Roy Brown in his book *The Brandon Hill Connexion*, McArthur reports that he had attended a meeting of area businessmen called to consider a name for the new townsite. 'After a lengthy discussion, I put forward the idea that the name "Brandon" should be used. It was a well known name in the area because the Hudson's Bay Company had named their first fur trading post BRANDON HOUSE, and the hills to the south were known as the Blue Hills of Brandon. . . . The suggestion was finally accepted . . .'

The SS *North West* that Edward Low had seen passing Grand Valley was on her maiden voyage from Moorhead, Minnesota. She carried 40 carloads of lumber for Charles Whitehead of the firm Whitehead and Myers of Grand Valley. A few days after unloading the lumber Charles Whitehead built the first building in the now new townsite — an office for his company.

Things moved rapidly. At first there was a paper city but when the location became known tents sprang up all along the bank of the Assiniboine. After Whitehead, a doctor, a grocer and a hotelman

Western Canada Pictorial Index

Sir Clifford Sifton, Member of Parliament for Brandon, 1896-1911.

Manitoba Archives

The Clifford Sifton house on Princess Avenue, Brandon. Built in 1892.

arrived. Businesses moved across the river from Grand Valley. Opportunities were almost unlimited for those who got in on the bottom rung. Amongst the first to arrive were T. Mayne Daly, Jr, and Clifford Sifton who became federal cabinet ministers. Daly was Brandon's first lawyer and first mayor, and in later years, a police magistrate in Winnipeg. Clifford Sifton later became publisher of the *Manitoba Free Press*. Arthur Sifton, Clifford's brother, became Premier of Alberta. Pat Burns, a farm hand for J. W. Sifton, became one of Canada's meat-packing kings.

By August when the survey was completed, there were a dozen frame buildings — including two hotels, 'The Royal' and 'The Queen's'. On 6 September, Edward Low reported that a temporary bridge had been started by the Canadian Pacific Railway and on 17 September, that the track layers had arrived. The first official passenger train arrived on 11 October 1881.

Charles A. Peyton describes the first passenger train trip and the city he found upon arrival. 'Next day we boarded the first passenger train ever ran to that new city. It was a slow trip as there was water everywhere, the track in innumerable places half washed away. On one occasion the engineer ran [the train] off the track and considerable time was lost to get it back. Arriving at our jumping-off place [we] found a city of tents. One store was nearly finished and already started to do business. For half a mile along the track old farm machinery of every description was dumped, most of it from Eastern Canada and of very little use in the West, the construction companies having hauled it in during the winter. The Assiniboine River covered the whole valley where two small boats were kept busy taking settlers across. The cattle and horses had to swim behind. You would get the impression a gold mine had been discovered on the Prairie. A large tent with "Brandon Hotel" over the door caught our eyes. In this palatial hotel we boarded for a short time. They had double straw mattresses laid on the ground (no bed nor blankets).'

In November William Wallace reported to his sister in Scotland about his journey from Grand Valley to Brandon in November 1881. '. . . I had to cross the Railway Bridge, a temporary erection that will be allowed to go with the ice next spring. It is only composed of piles across on which are laid sleepers to support the rails. Over this I had to cautiously pick my way as the logs were laid about a foot apart. Underneath you the river was rushing along in its usual quick way warning you to be careful. Alongside a handsome bridge with stone piers is being erected at a high level for railway purposes next summer. I understand that there will also be a traffic one. . . . about a mile up [I] entered Brandon. . . . A nice wooden station has been erected to the right. Northward is the River with steamboat landing. Four steam mills & one or two stores. To the left, southwards is the main street. It has at each end a large hotel and consists principally

Western Canada Pictorial Index

An ox-drawn Assiniboine River cart, Brandon, c. 1883.

of stores. One of them has Bank marked over it in huge letters. The thoroughfare takes at the west end of this street a turn to the left up the hill. Here there are a number of livery sale stables with a Butcher's tent & a large Ironmongery warehouse. Again the thoroughfare turns to the right & along each side are some very good looking stores & a number of Boarding houses. Here also is the PO (Post Office]. Intermixed with and surrounding all this are a number of nice frame houses. You can have some idea of the busy city that has in our time here sprung up on the bare prairie. I think there must be fully one hundred buildings all self contained and consequently covering a good deal of ground.'

By this time the provincial boundary had been extended west to the centre of the road allowance between Ranges 29 and 30 West. Thus, by the fall of 1881 Brandon, Manitoba, was in existence but not yet officially a city. In 1881 a county government was established for Brandon county; by 1884 people felt overgoverned so the county government was abolished.

The railway had arrived but rail travel could be hazardous in those days. J. M. Wallis reported on the train trip which left Winnipeg on 3 April 1882. The train, packed with passengers, was caught in a blizzard. Wallis while on the train wrote to his mother 'There is not a thing to eat on the train and it is impossible to get any assistance until they can dig out the road. I have a small flask of whiskey which I am sharing with my fellow passengers but it won't last more than a few hours. There are a great many women and children on board and the prospects are there will be terrible suffering from hunger and cold.' Relief trains took the passengers back to Winnipeg.

Wallis, a banker, describes the starting of a business in Brandon in the spring of 1882: 'We have our stoves up and are occupying our rooms. We can't get a bit of wood and have been burning off bits of lumber. Wood is selling from $10. to $12. a load [not a cord]. We can get nothing done here even for extravagant prices. . . . Everything costs 200 per ct. more than in Ontario. The blockade in the post office here is if anything worse than Winnipeg. I tried a dozen times to get my letters and could not until this evening. The clerks often work all night and are now so pushed that no newspapers have been delivered for nearly a week. My valise has been lying here for four days and I could not get it until I hunted through a dozen baggage cars and walked off with it. . . . Hundreds of immigrants cannot even get shelter. Whole cars of stock have been starved and frozen to death. . . . The snow blockade has prevented things from being sent down from Winnipeg and one cannot get the smallest trifles. . . . Over five million feet of lumber is being sent here now from the United States and in a few months this place will be three times the size it is now. Many people are sanguine enough to believe that we will soon leave Winnipeg behind but I am not one of that number, though we have some advantages that Winnipeg has not. Property is going up at a tremendous rate[,] with $10,000 one could make $100,000 inside a year. . . . I hope in time to have a good business here but competition for some time will be very keen. There is already quite a nice society here about six families.'

Immediately after the arrival of the railway Brandon became the jumping off place for people going on into the surrounding area and beyond. The trails were full of mudholes, the mosquitoes often were terrible, the rivers were in flood and the people in many cases unfamiliar with rural life, driving oxen, and the conditions of the country. One settler describes trying to get a team of balky oxen through a mudhole: '. . . the balky brutes refused to tighten their traces in spite of all our persuasive efforts. . . . a long lanky native arrived driving an ox team and stopped to survey the scene, with a broad grin on his weather-beaten face while he rolled a huge quid of tobacco. Hopping off the wagon with a heavy blacksnake in his hand remarked "Say boys, let me drive them there bulls". Of course we acquiesced very readily, handing him over the lines which he threw on the ground with an oath; then climbed on top of the load and let go such a volley of vile imprecations and violent swear words it quite shocked our sensitive morals, more especially as two of the boys were Minister's sons; none of us had ever heard the like before. After delivering his sermon to the oxen, he next swung the big whip, that cracked like a pistol shot. After every crack one of the poor oxen was minus a chunk of hair and hide but the result was marvellous; with a bawl they walked right out with comparative ease. . . . Walking back to his own team he gave us this parting shout: "You fellows must learn how to swear first before you can drive oxen". . . . one thing was quite

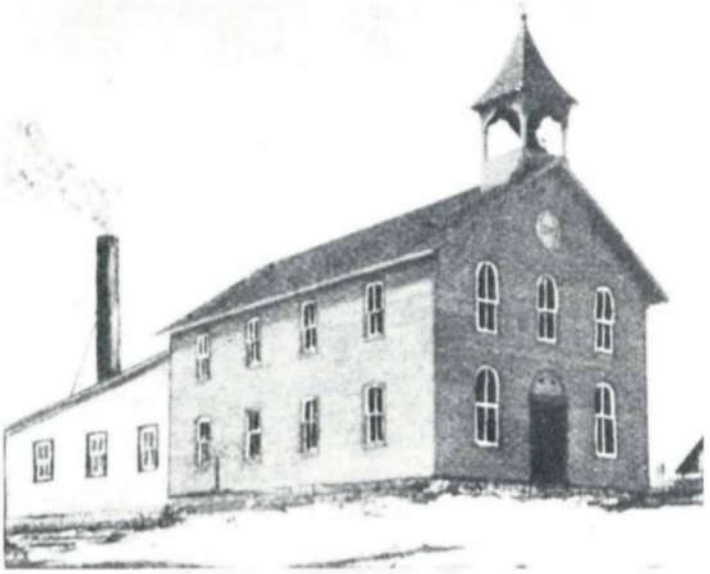
obvious after this experience; a whip must be part of our equipment if we expected to see Edmonton before the snow came.'

The bill to incorporate the City of Brandon and grant its charter passed the provincial legislature on 30 May 1882 — one year to the day after lots first went on sale. There were four wards, each with three aldermen. The first civic elections were held on June 30 with T. Mayne Daly, Jr. elected mayor.

That summer Winnipeg publishers Steen and Boyce published the first book about Brandon, *Brandon, Manitoba, Canada, and Her Industries* describing its growth thus. When W. J. White published the first number of the *Brandon Sun* on 19 January, he had reported a resident population of 700 with a transient population double that and 120 buildings which had cost $200,000. In the spring there was a permanent population of 1,500 with 120 businesses including the Brandon Flouring Mills and the Merchant's Bank; and by midsummer they reported that Brandon was 'a full fledged city with complete municipal machinery, nearly 200 businesses, institutions of every class and a permanent population of not less than 3,000.' There were four banks, a flouring mill, sawmill, two planing mills, several other industrial institutions, two fine new churches and a third under construction, four regular church organizations, numerous imposing business buildings, stocks of goods amounting up to $1,000,000 in value, and hotel accommodations for over 1,000 transient people. There were saddleries, harness makers, blacksmiths, carriage makers, furniture houses, an aerated water works, grocery stores, butcher shops, dry goods stores, farm machinery dealers, jewellers, and many more. There were six hotels in operation and a private club under construction. 'All the north and south streets of the city from First to Eighteenth are being graded and gravelled to the southern limits of the city, while Rosser Avenue and Sixth Street are having cobblestone gutters constructed, and are being coated with screened gravel. Culverts, drains and so forth are being constructed where necessary, so that solid wheeling can at all times be had through the city while ladies can in future walk on clean solid roads half an hour after a thunderstorm.' There was a brick fire hall and council chambers, 5,000-gallon water tanks at different locations throughout the city, nine miles of graded streets, 11,802 feet of eight-foot sidewalks and 11,524 feet of four-board sidewalks. These improvements had cost $85,000.

By midsummer 1882, the *Brandon Sun* reported that a 'splendid bridge has been thrown over the Assiniboine, the private enterprise of our provincial member, Joseph E. Woodworth Esq., while approaches to another connecting the country north of Brandon with Eighteenth Street are rapidly nearing completion.' The Eighteenth Street Bridge was a draw bridge and a toll bridge — the latter to the great annoyance of the farmers who used it. In 1885 according to Graham Barker's *Brandon: A City*, 'In a procession the rural dwellers reached the river-crossing and broke the toll-bar: the management "threw open the wing", interrupting traffic to and from the town. . . . Then, one night, bridge-lessee E. Hoskin was induced, on some pretext, to leave the toll-house. At once seized and pinioned, he could only watch, helplessly, as unidentified parties tore out the gate and dropped the toll-house into the river: any attempt to replace them would be followed by dynamiting, he was warned. Mr. Hoskin announced through the local press, that he had quit the bridge business forever.'

Brandon University Archives



Rapid City Academy, relocated in Brandon in 1890, was the antecedent of Brandon College, now Brandon University.

A six-classroom central school staffed by four teachers stood on the west side of Tenth Street. The Methodist Church was on Seventh Street, the Presbyterian on Eighth, St Matthew's Anglican at the southeast corner of Eleventh and Princess and the Roman Catholic on Lorne Avenue. In December, 1882 William Lothian wrote from Brandon 'During the time I have been here I have enjoyed churchgoing with Annie [Milliken, his future wife]. The Methodists have a *fine* church, well filled too, perhaps 700 people tonight.'

Within a decade of its incorporation on 30 May 1882 Brandon was a city of fine commercial buildings and homes and many of the institutions which were its trademark throughout its first century were already established. In many ways the 'capital' of Western Manitoba, Brandon has, in its first century, fulfilled Sandford Fleming's prophecy of becoming an 'important' centre. ◆

By Marybelle Myers

From 1970 to 1980, Mrs Myers was manager of arts and crafts developments for La Federation des Cooperatives du Nouveau-Quebec in Montreal. She now attends Carleton University in Ottawa where she is studying for a Ph.D. in sociology.

INDIVIDUALITY is not the shibboleth to Inuit that it is to some Southerners. Since no Inuk willingly makes himself conspicuous above his fellows, in life or in art, it is hardly surprising that Inuit art tends towards a common style. Collectors with even a little experience can usually pinpoint accurately the region or village where a particular piece was produced. What is surprising is that, in spite of the value placed on homogeneity of the group, some Inuit have managed to sustain a strongly individualistic style in their everyday life and in their work. Josie Papialook, or Paperk as he was earlier called, is a sculptor and graphic artist, one of those individuals who, drawing his imagery and his strength from Inuit tradition, sees things differently than his fellows and unabashedly follows his bent.

George Swinton has referred to Papialook's work as 'decorative realism'; it could also be called 'naive realism', for he is an ageless child, at once both mystified by and unafraid of nature. Knowledge comes to him through all of his senses — hearing, seeing, feeling — and, unlike more conventional folk, he does not distinguish among them. It makes sense to him to include both tangible and intangible elements in his pictures since both are features of what he knows to be reality. Speech and motion patterns are as real to him as the beings generating them and it doesn't occur to him not to draw the chatter and the footprints of his creatures. Similarly, he gives shape to the surrounding air and the movements people and animals make as they walk, fly or swim through it.

Although Papialook is an eccentric in a village of carvers committed to a technically flawless rendition of reality, he, of course, draws on the same cultural consciousness as do his contemporaries. Born inland from Povungnituk around 1918, he lived the 'Old Way' for most of his life and has first-hand knowledge of the hunting camps where people lived in igloos and hunted by kayak. In spite of times when food was scarce and death by starvation a likely outcome, life 'on the land' was more comprehensible to Inuit than it is now in towns. Beginning in the mid-1950s, Inuit abandoned their family-based camps and moved into administrative centres. The closest centre to Papialook was Povungnituk where, since the death of his wife, Martha, in 1978, he has lived with Peter, a son now in his late twenties. He used to have 'lots of relatives' he says, but 'they're all dead now'. His mother died when he was quite young but when his father died Josie was old enough to bury him.

Papialook doesn't live the life of a bachelor by choice. When I saw him in 1978, he told me of an unsuccessful overture he had made to the father of a young girl from nearby Inoucdjouac. Lucy caught his eye while she was visiting in Povungnituk and, deciding that she would make a good wife, Papialook pursued the project, following her on the plane back to Inoucdjouac. This is the way he tells the story.

'With all this white hair, I must be pretty old. But I don't get the pension yet. I tried but I couldn't get it. I also tried to get a new wife but didn't succeed. I went

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Photographs are by the author.

The title design is by Josie Papialook.

Josie Papialook (also called Josie Paperk in the Povungnituk print catalogues), sculptor and graphic artist, in the Povungnituk print-shop.

to Inoucdjouac, trying to get a new wife, a nice young girl.

'I didn't ask her. I was arguing about it with her father on the plane. I followed that girl all the way to Inoucdjouac. When we got there, I went to her place but I left the next morning while everyone was still asleep. I gave up because her father didn't want me. I came back to Povungnituk without a wife.'

'Have you given up?'

'I haven't given up but I just don't know where to look. It's really bad in my house with no wife. It wasn't so hard to find a wife in the old days.'

Everyone laughs when Josie tells this story. Well liked, he is considered something of a joker in his village. Like a child, he is always responsive to silly jokes. Like all jokers, however, he appreciates the seriousness of humour.

Whatever else it may be, carving for Josie is a handy way to supplement his income:

'I earn my living by carving and welfare. I wanted a canoe once and I walked off to find some stone. I used to just stop and carve right on the spot whenever I found stone.'

Certainly, although it portrays many of the same elements, the humour and the choice of birds and small animals as subject matter, Papialook's carving plays a secondary role to his graphics. Stone is obviously a clumsier medium for him but, in spite of its restrictions, he manages to imprint the Papialook style. A favourite theme in sculpture is fish with funny snouts, and birds of wistful appearance. Often, the birds are on a base decorated with finely scratched flowers or footprints, and the fish on a bed of waves. Occasionally, he carves figures or masks but these are less successful than his small creatures.

Although Papialook used to spend a lot of time with some of the great carvers in Povungnituk — Davidialuk and Joe Talirunili — he acknowledges no influence:

'No body taught me how to carve. I learned by myself. One time, I just sawed off a piece of very hard stone and started carving.'

Papialook sculptures, always small, can be held comfortably in the hand. Like his late contemporary, Talirunili, Papialook doesn't hide his lack of technical finesse. Imperfections in the stone are not carved away but circled in case anyone should miss them. Occasionally, he even carves stitches around a flaw in the stone as one would sew a patch on the knee of trousers. The bottom of the carvings are usually adorned with his signature, 'Josie P. Papialook', a version of his name which he adopted a few years ago. His name and signature require some explanation.

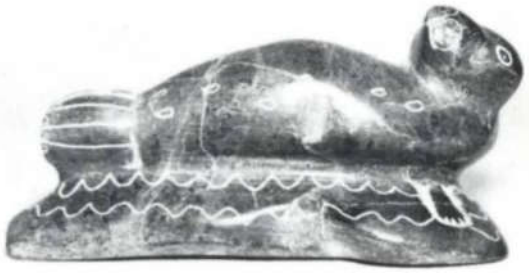
Without his doing, his name has been variously spelled. Until 1966, it was commonly rendered as 'Papi' or 'Puppy' which is more phonetically apt than 'Paperk' (meaning tail) which came into usage in print catalogues in 1966. In the late 1970s, he began signing his prints and carvings, 'Josie P. Papialook' with the middle initial usually circled. 'Papialook', literally translated, means 'Mr. Big Tail'. The change was made, Josie says, 'because my father's real name was Papialook'. The middle initial P. is one of those things which struck his fancy and was adopted as his own. It is a take-off from the copyright sign © which

Inuit were advised several years ago to incise into the bottom of their carvings to thwart reproduction of their work. By 1978, and in his drawings particularly, Papialook began to display a fascination with his name, sometimes utilizing it as the sole image in his drawings. Some highly embellished renditions are enclosed in an arrow, an idea he picked up during a trip south when he observed that 'white men draw arrows to show you which way you're going'.

He once painted his name in all its splendour on the water tank sitting on the counter in the print-shop. The tank already had a big P (for Povungnituk) stamped onto it and this served as all the inspiration Josie needed to set to work on yet another name drawing. He once said that his best art consists of writing his name in the snow because 'it goes into the air and stays forever'.

It is my impression that Papialook's carvings are more of a personal joke than a labour of love. Paper and ink, however, opened a whole new world to him. He is best known to collectors as a graphic artist and his love of the medium is obvious. He was one of the first people in Povungnituk to become involved in printmaking although, in the last few years, drawing has become a preferred medium. Undoubtedly this preference is due to the fact that drawing, being a freer medium, allows for the expression of a naturally flamboyant nature. It also allows for greater sociability. After Martha died, Papialook was lonely and his productivity declined. He began going to the print-shop every day. He couldn't carve there, of course, because the dust would have gotten into the ink. He tried printing some of his own stonecuts but candidly concluded that he is 'too messy to print a whole edition'. Eventually, he set up shop in a corner, leaning on a counter and drawing for hours on end.

Papialook approached printmaking and, later, drawing, in his typically ingenious way, establishing personal conventions in subject matter and style right at the beginning. Although his drawings are more far-ranging in subject matter than are his prints and carvings, birds remain a favourite theme in all media. There is no mystery about this choice of subject. With typical candour, Papialook says, 'I like to draw birds because I'm not very good at drawing a man'. He claims that he takes pains to achieve a realistic portrayal of whatever he draws even though his unique perceptions of reality obscure this avowed concern with accuracy. He often draws a bird with only one foot visible or a bird with one wing, 'since the other one is behind him'. Untutored in perspective, these 'realistic' subjects often appear to be balanced on one foot or aerodynamically unsound. Occasionally, he resorts to symbolic representations of real objects. An igloo may be depicted by a grid containing a coiled sealskin rope. A box drawn around the image or a solitary figure may represent a tent.



Seal floating on a bed of waves.
Sculpture by Josie Papialook.

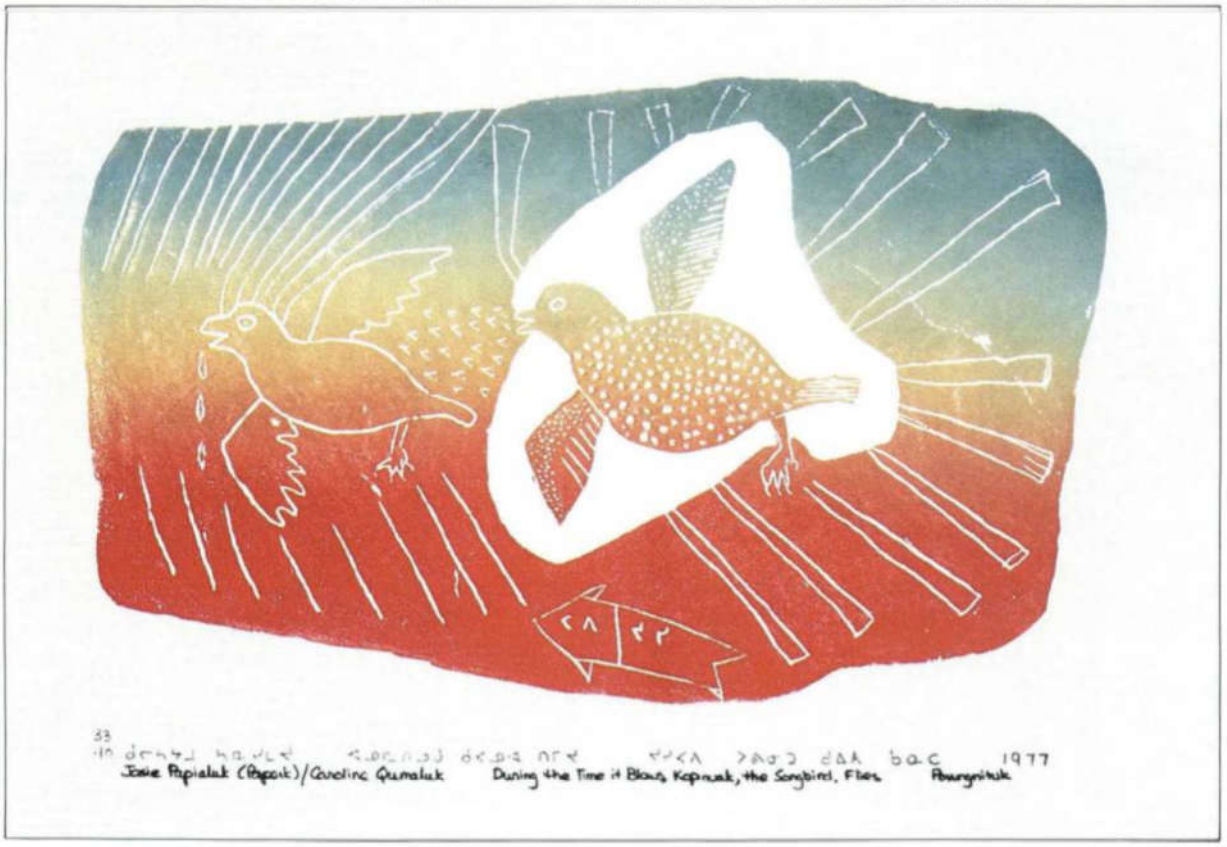
When describing the subjects of his work, Papialook invariably uses the historical present tense as in, 'This woman is going to put a sealskin out to dry and after that she is going to eat the fish.' He sees his drawing not as completed action but as dynamic, all parts related in some kind of imminent action. The stars around a figure's head indicate 'his really cold breath' but 'he doesn't go into the igloo to get warm because he doesn't like the people inside. Also, it's too dark in there and he likes the light.'

In a 1965 print, 'Bird Hunting' (*Povungnituk 1965*) the bird has been drawn outsize and has a fish in its stomach. I did not discuss this print with him but feel sure that he would say, 'The bird has just eaten a fish' or 'I know that birds eat fish.' Our conception of realistic portrayal would be to show only the exterior of the bird, to show, in other words, only what we can see with our eyes. Papialook, however, sees no reason to exclude certain knowledge even though it cannot, at that moment, be perceived visually. This may make good sense since paper and ink do not mimic the reality of life but merely represent it. We can write 'The bird ate the fish' in letters which convey information. Why not in pictures? Wasn't that the first use of pictures?

The presence of moving 'wind' is one of the profound realities of Papialook's existence and he includes it in all of his graphic work with a few exceptions. The 1962 stonecut print 'Building a Snowhouse' (*Povungnituk 1962*), is a crude first attempt at printmaking. As was customary in early prints from Povungnituk, all of the action is contained within the stone, the image being merely incised and the outer edge of the stone left for printing. In a forerunner of what later became a Papialook hallmark, he has portrayed the wind by vague, wiggly lines. In the same year, in what must

In this drawing by Papialook, the stars around the figure's head indicate 'his really cold breath'; the box drawn around him may represent a tent. The artist's work has been exhibited by The Canadian Guild of Crafts in Montreal and The Raven in Minneapolis. Later this year an exhibition and sale will be held at the Marion Scott Gallery in Vancouver.

Papialook was the first artist at Povungnituk to decide the colours for his stone engravings. Below is his engraving 'During the Time it Blows, Kopinuak, the Song Bird Flies'. Povungnituk, 1978.



surely have been a later attempt at the same theme, he has achieved a more complex wind-pattern (*'Building an Igloo' Povungnituk 1962*). Here, the wind pattern may be general or emanating specifically from the man. This print also contains another Papialook convention, the engraving of the footprints of his subjects 'to show how they got there'. In a much later drawing (1978) he showed not only the footprints his bird subject made as it walked but also included the marks it made when it scraped to a stop, 'the scratches from the wings when he landed'.

His drawing of motion cannot be reduced to a formula although the more intense the action, the more intense the rendition. The wind is, he says, always different colours and shapes.

'There are all different kinds of wind. Yes, all

different kinds. Some very strong and some not strong enough. Sometimes, it makes clouds and rain. It is also all different colours.'

'Where does the wind come from?'

'I think the wind must come from the clouds. I don't believe it comes from the ground. But I *do* believe winds come from up high. There are, however, some winds which are close to the ground.'

'Where does it go?'

'I can't imagine what happens to the wind when it leaves the ground. I really don't know where it goes. I feel it all around but I cannot find out where it comes from and where it goes.'

'Have you ever seen the wind?'

'Yes. I see it almost every day. I feel it strongly. That's how I see it. Not with my eyes but with my hands and face. The wind is different all the time. It never stays the same. That's the way it is. My younger brother died one time when the wind caused drifting

'A Bird We Never Saw' by Papialook. In this 1978 drawing, purple and blue lines represent the wind coming from the sun. The orange and blue drops are 'tears'.

Papialook's drawing of a bird flying in the rain and surrounded by a circle of the wind.

The depiction of wind, rain and sound, are hallmarks of Papialook's graphic art.

snow. That was a long time ago when we were hunting on foot together and a big storm came. It was sad. I almost froze my hands at that time, digging in the snow which was piled up by the wind.'

There is even, Paperk says, air or wind under the water, causing it to move and to form waves.

'I think there must be wind under the water. Also, I think there is wind under the ice because when you cut a hole through the ice a lot of water wants to come up.'

In a 1978 drawing, 'A Bird We Never Saw', Papialook has drawn the creature's breathing in a leaf-like configuration with the three colourful feather-like shapes behind the head representing the breath 'going out behind him'. The dazzling motif in the upper right is the sun, engaged in a dynamic of its own while the straightforward purple and blue lines represent the wind coming from the sun. The orange, purple and blue drops are 'the tears from the sun as it sighs and cries towards the land'.

The wind is always present in his work, often encircling the image and it is tempting to draw an analogy to the Povungnituk tradition of leaving the edge of the printing stone as a boundary for their engraved images. The only motivation for this appears to be a desire to show all of the elements. Things don't just float in nothingness. They are contained in an atmosphere, or a stone block.

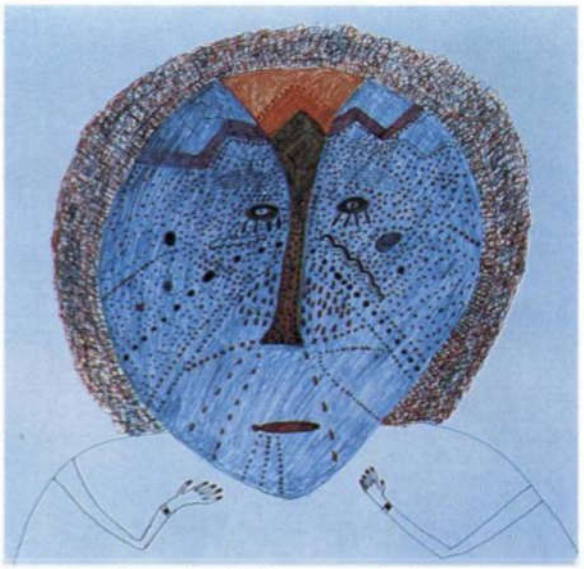
Papialook does not separate himself from his work. Like a child, he is the centre of his own universe and the subject of much of his graphic work. In 1978, he drew two curious self-portraits in which he has red hair and tattooing, a practice formerly indulged in by Inuit women who pulled soot-blackened needles under the skin. Predictably enough, Papialook's townsmen and admirers find these so-called portraits outrageously funny. Apart from the self-portraits, it appears that Papialook is the subject of several of his drawings and prints. The 1964 catalogue included a poorly engraved print called 'Fishing'. The interesting thing about this work is the appearance of an enigmatic face on the lower right. It has been carved in such a way as to utilize the outer edge of the stone as the boundary of the face. It may have been that the shape left after carving the main image suggested itself to Josie as a face or, it may be, in view of his lack of distinction of gender, that this is intended as a self-portrait.

Mask imagery pops up from time to time in his work and, always, the faces are tattooed. In the early years, the mask is secondary to the main action, brooding over it as an outside observer. Later, it becomes central as in 'Face', a full-blown portrait surrounded by barely incised creatures — a fish on the left, a bird and a seal on the right and all with their motion-specific indicators.

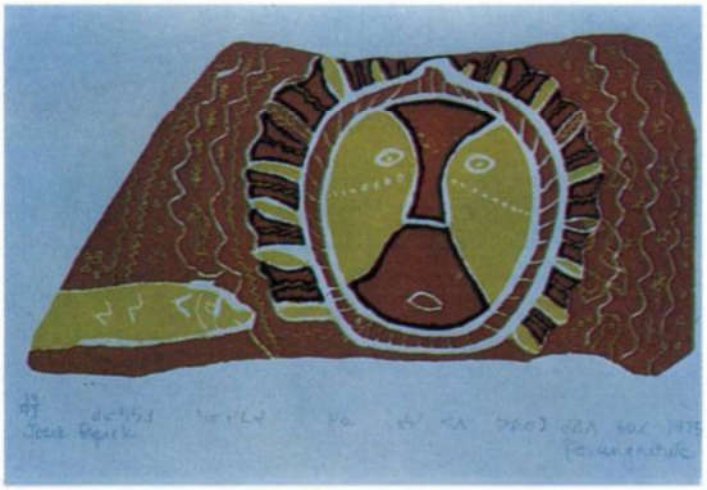
This print, incidentally, reveals a new interest in colour for Povungnituk printmakers. It was printed in orange, black and yellow, colours which would have been chosen by the shop manager and Annie Amamatuak who did the actual printing. At that time, the artist who did the drawing and/or the stonecut had no input to the actual printing. For fifteen years, the print-shop had been dominated by four or five women trained to ink and pull the prints. Artists would cut their stones and bring them to the

print-shop to sell and that was the end of their involvement.

Interestingly enough, the colour used in 'Face' could as easily have been chosen by Papialook himself. It is quite in keeping with the choices he made for prints catalogued in 1978 when Werner Zimmermann, a consultant who worked with the Povungnituk print shop for two years, encouraged the artists to provide critical input to the printing of their work. Josie was the first to come in to decide the colours for his stone engravings. With no hesitation, he chose rainbows of primary colours — melding bands of orange with red and blue with green. These two stones had already been proofed in black and the difference between those and the proofs pulled by Josie in colour was dramatic. A sure instinct had guided him to colour which enhanced rather than smothered his imagery. This was a taste of what would soon, in his felt-pen drawings, appear



A curious self-portrait, with the tattoo marks that were fashionable with Inuit women of earlier generations.



'Face', a portrait surrounded by a fish (left) and a bird and seal (right), with their motion indicators. Povungnituk 1975.

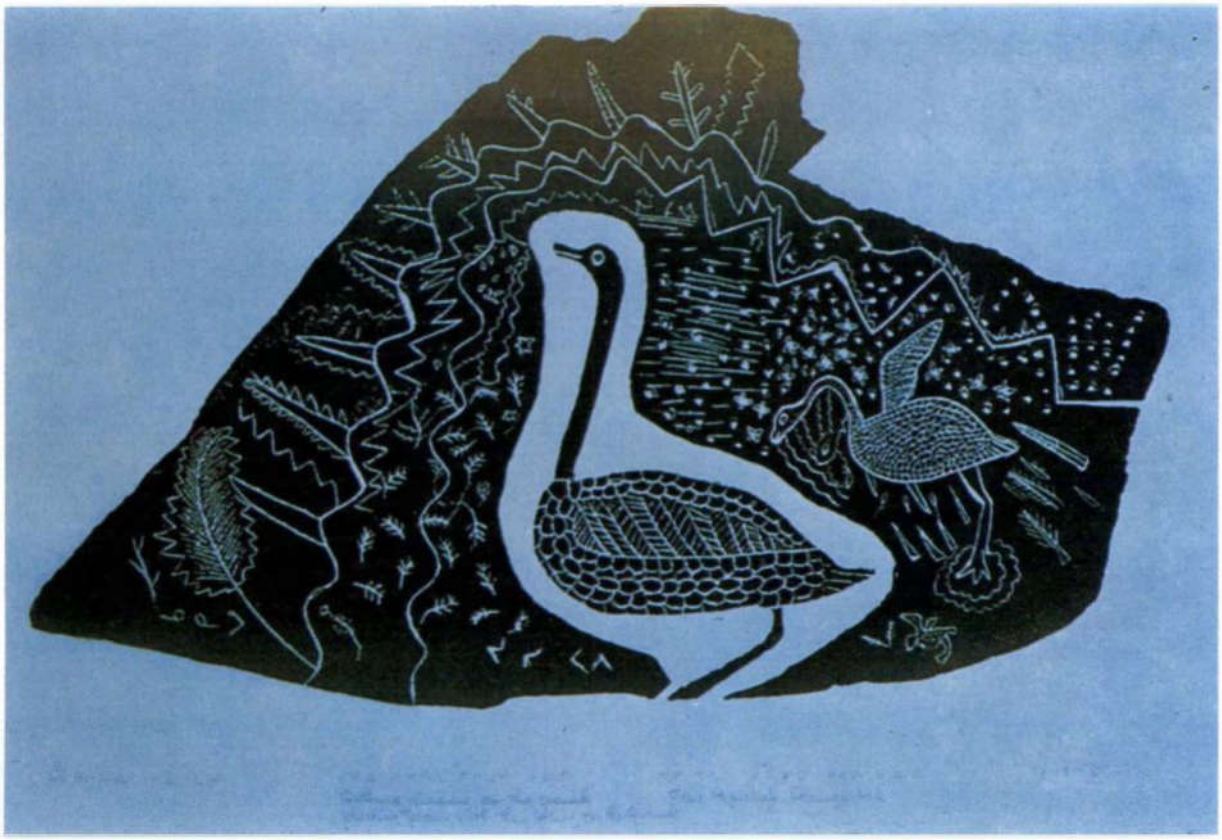
as an obvious inclination towards flamboyant colour. In contrast to the drawings, many of his early prints appear drab and heavy. This is undoubtedly due to the solid dark inking which deadened the essential gaiety of his imagery. Josie put it simply: 'Colour makes my prints look better.'

Apart from the lift provided by his choice of buoyant colour, the Papialook prints in the 1978 collection are noteworthy for their improved technique. 'Whistling Swans with Their Young on the Ground' is a very fine print, conveying a new feeling of precision. One stencil was included in this collection, 'A Duck with Outspread Wings'. It was cut by Leah Amituk from a drawing by Josie and although it is recognizable as a Papialook bird, it seems rather bare without his customary accessories, footprints and movement indicators. It has a distinctly unfinished quality, as often happens when the work of one artist is interpreted by another.

'Seagull Singing', which was cut by Papialook himself, is a genuine departure or rather, an aberration in style. Here, he has completely and uncharacteristically freed the image from the stone and made the sound and motion patterns as well as the footprints, more precise. This print was made after a workshop conducted in the community by Bob Paterson and it may be that it is evidence of an outside influence or, at least, a different attention to technique. Whatever it was, it was only temporary. 'Making a Snow House' signals a reversion to earlier themes and styles. Once again, the figure is in partial relief with the shape of the stone left to contain the imagery.

In 'Fixing an Igloo in Winter', (*Povungnituk, 1980*) Papialook has, I think, been more successfully interpreted by Josie Sivuarapik, a young newcomer to printmaking. Although the print, a combination serigraph and stencil, is quite unlike any of Papialook's previous work, it is uncannily his. The feeling is his, although the rendition could not be.

Colour can bring a print to life but so can titles. The selection of titles was always rather tricky since Povungnituk prints arrived in the South with only syllabic titles and rarely was there an Inuit available to translate. The necessity of rushing into print with the catalogue in order that the prints could go on sale within a few months of their receipt meant that there was little time to seek out a proper translation. Titles



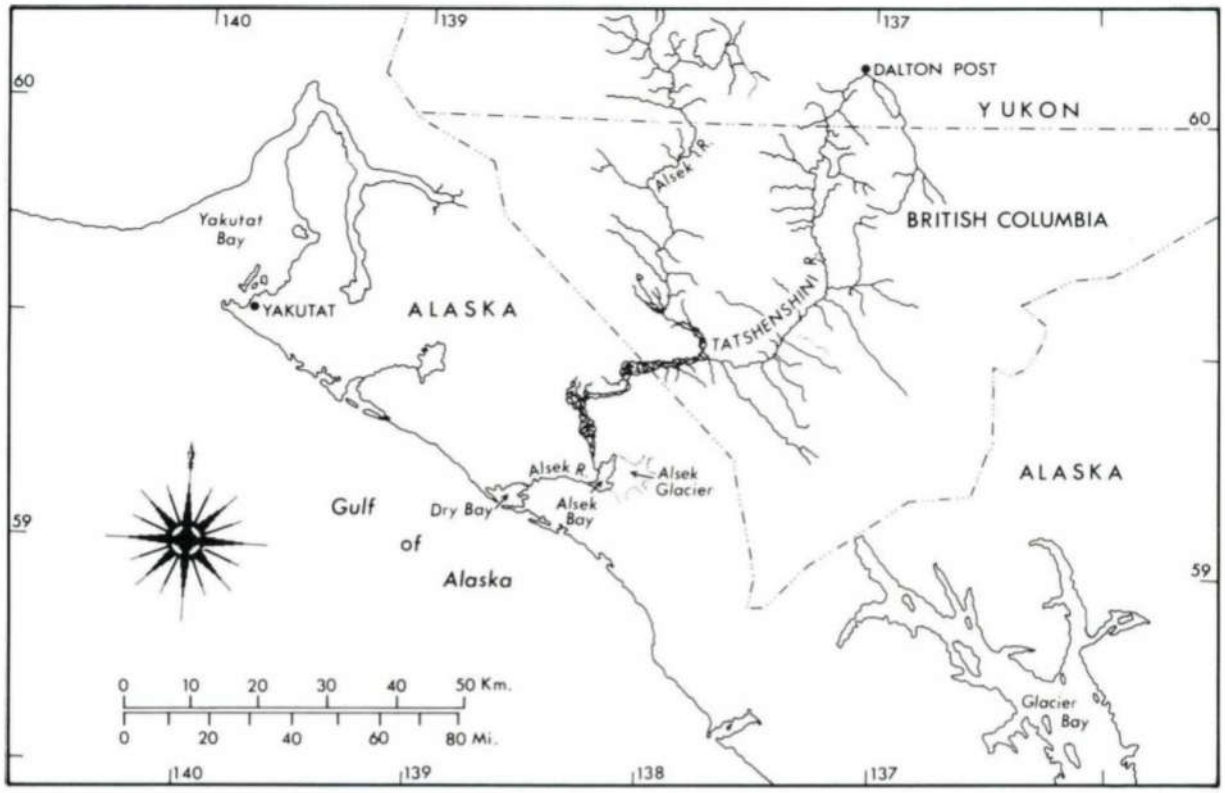
'Whistling Swans with Their Young on the Ground', Povungnituk, 1978.

were bestowed, often, by reference to the obvious action. Needless to say, discrepancies occurred because what was obvious to the Inuit artist might not be so obvious to the white observer. It was often the case that the real meaning of a work would be obscured by a safe but lacklustre title such as 'Man and Bear'. Sometimes, an Eskimo would later comment on what was really going on in a particular print or translate the syllabics and the whole thing instantly took on a new life. I remember that in 1976, Ali Tulugak, a very competent translator, was available for translation. Consequently, some 1976 prints, particularly those of Josie P. Papialook, were rendered infinitely more appealing. Compare 'Man Opens His Arms to Nature' with 'Fishing' or 'Face'. The 1976 titles of Papialook's prints are, I think, more in keeping with the artlessness of the images.

So much about Josie Papialook is paradoxical — an old child, a serious joker, a simple sophiscate. He may be taken, on one level, as the town joker, fun to laugh with and at. On another level, his simplicity masks a sophisticated philosophy. He could well be enjoying some cosmic joke which eludes the rest of us — his name becoming the air; the wind connecting everything; he is part of the wind; therefore, *he* is the connection. Certainly, he cannot be dismissed as a mere joker.

I asked him if his pictures were meant to be serious or was he trying to make us laugh. He says he's being serious. He's 'trying to help the print shop'. Maybe he thought that was the right answer or maybe that is really, his intention. At any rate, his efforts to 'help' have not gone unnoticed. The year 1979 marked the twentieth anniversary of the first arctic co-operative and Josie was awarded a gold pin by the Povungnituk co-operative in recognition of his efforts. I heard about it from Ali Tulugak who said that Josie had 'fumbled his speech', saying in effect, that he was very glad he used to be starving to death. 'It came out sort of silly', says Ali, 'and made everyone laugh'. A serious joker.

But, above all, Papialook is an original man. Like Sisyphus, he sees humour in the seriousness of life. An ageless child with a child's fascination by a universe which sometimes nurtures and sometimes batters. A universe whose most unfathomable spaces are not so awesome that they cannot be drawn, given form, Josie dosen't know that air has no shape. He doesn't know that it has no colour. He doesn't know that you cannot see the wind. ◆



Rafting the Tatshenshini–Alsek Rivers

by Richard Harrington

Photographer-writer Richard Harrington has explored the remote places of Northern Canada, and the world, for more than three decades.

RIVER-RAFTING gets into your blood. Having floated over the fast waters of half a dozen rivers in Western Canada, I was delighted to learn of a new rafting adventure, a twelve-day trip on the remote Tatshenshini and Alsek Rivers.

The Tatshenshini is a glacier-spawned river that spills down a mountain slope in Yukon Territory, romps in foam across north-western British Columbia and flows into the Alsek just east of the Alaskan border. There, the waters steady to a quickstep as they penetrate Alaska's Glacier Bay National Monument to reach the salt Pacific.

John Mikes, Sr, of Vancouver, formerly a Czech hotelier, pioneered river-rafting in Canada a dozen years ago. Always on the alert for rivers with rafting potential, he hit upon the Tatshenshini several years ago.

The 'Tat' is ideal for rafting in most respects. It has no portages and a variety of currents; plenty of white water interspersed with quiet stretches. There are any number of good spots on which to pitch a tent, the possibilities of occasional hikes on shore and opportunities to see wildlife.

The Tatshenshini has one customary drawback; it is a long way from anywhere. Like most 'wild' rivers — by definition, unharnessed by man's works — the

The journey begins at Dalton Post where the rafts are put into the Tatshenshini River.

175 miles of the Tatshenshini run far from the haunts of mankind. Rafters enjoy the illusion of being first to run the river.

Johnny Mikes, 26, handles the six to seven summer raftings on the Tatshenshini, while his father leads those on the Chilcotin-Fraser in central British Columbia. Both trips are complex, much more than rafting; both a triumph in logistics.

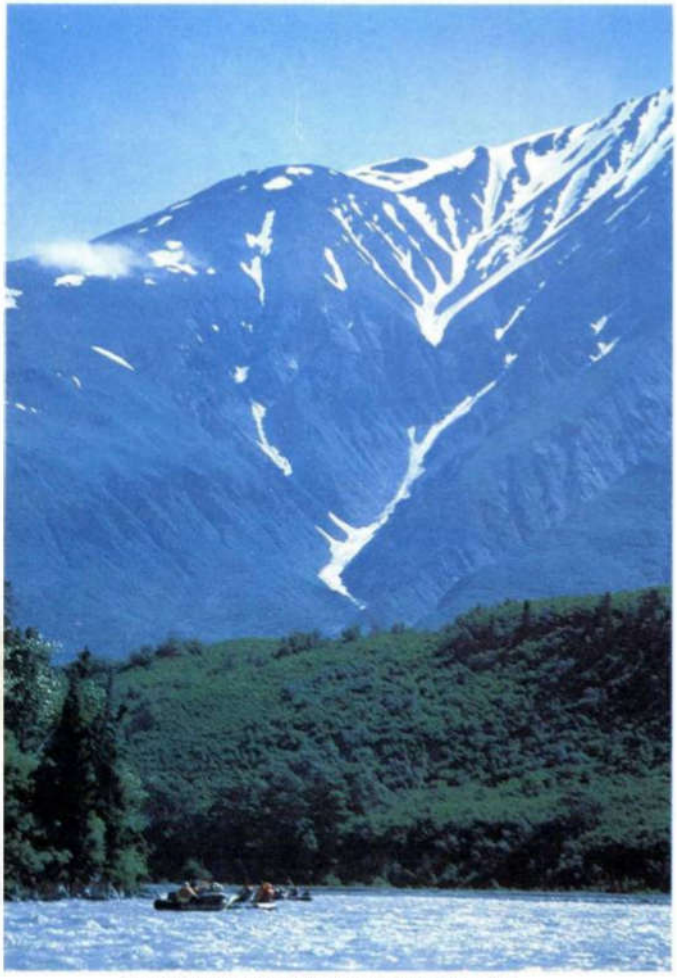
In July 1981, our group of eighteen gathered with Johnny at a hotel in Juneau. We found him to be a husky, quiet, resourceful man with twelve years of experience and thousands of miles on the rivers of British Columbia.

To reach the Tatshenshini, Johnny shepherded us aboard the Alaskan state ferry for the scenic cruise to Haines at the head of the Lynn Canal. There we boarded a minibus, and drove up the Haines Highway to Mile 110, formerly Dalton's Post; before that, it was the Stick Indian village of the Gunena clan — Neska Ta Heen, as the Englishman E. J. Glave, who travelled the area in 1890, referred to it. At the time of his arrival the village had ten or twelve houses of wide planks but to quote Glave 'the gayest spot in the village was certainly the cemetery; eight or nine little pigeon-houses contained the charred remains of their dead.'

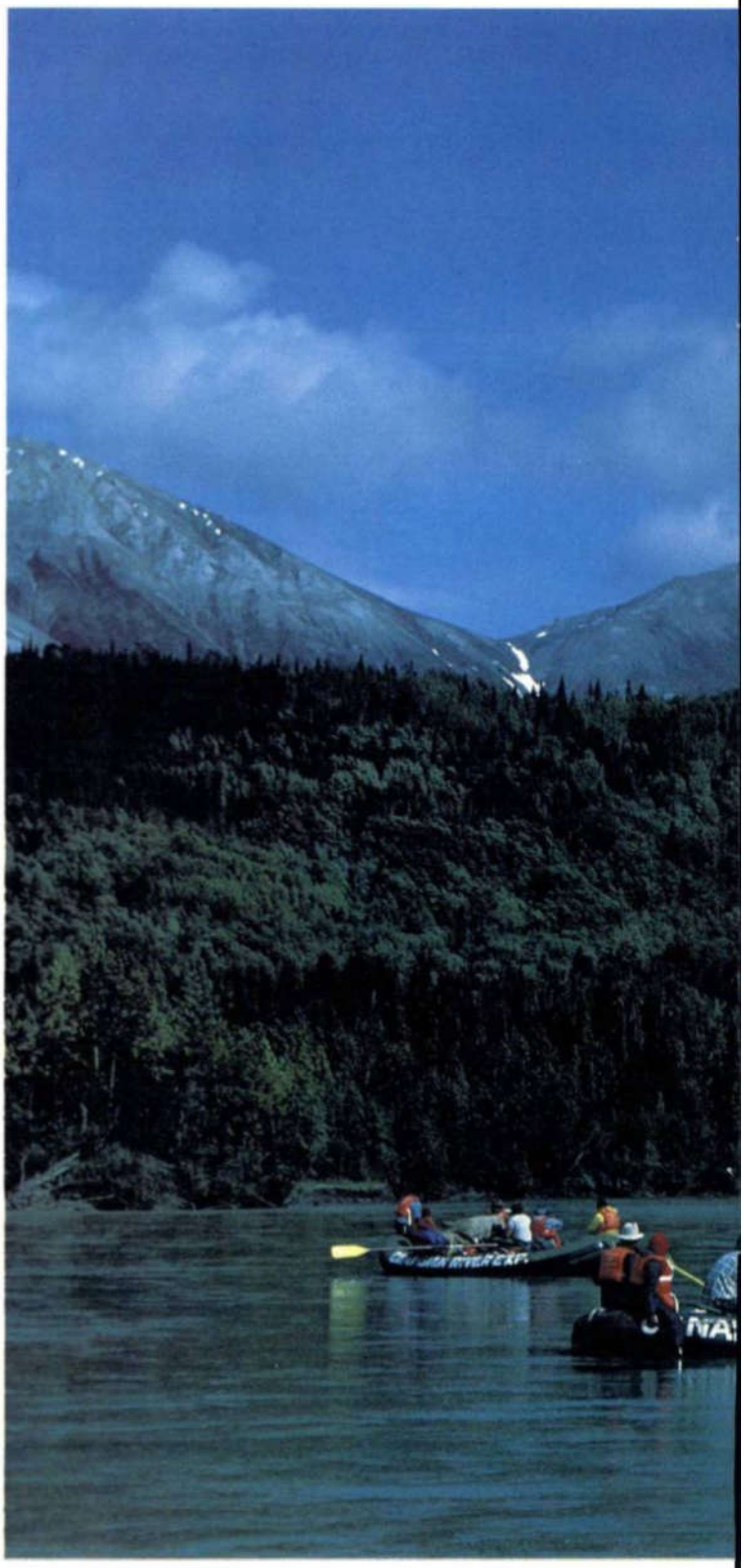
Of Jack Dalton's trading post, only a few buildings remain today.

Explorer-lecturer Glave and American frontiersman John Dalton came to Alaska in 1890 as members of the Alaska expedition sponsored by Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper. They heard from the Stick Indians of the Interior that a very fast river ran to the sea about a hundred miles east of Yakutat. They set off to locate it and became the first white men to follow the Tatshenshini-Alsek waters to the ocean.

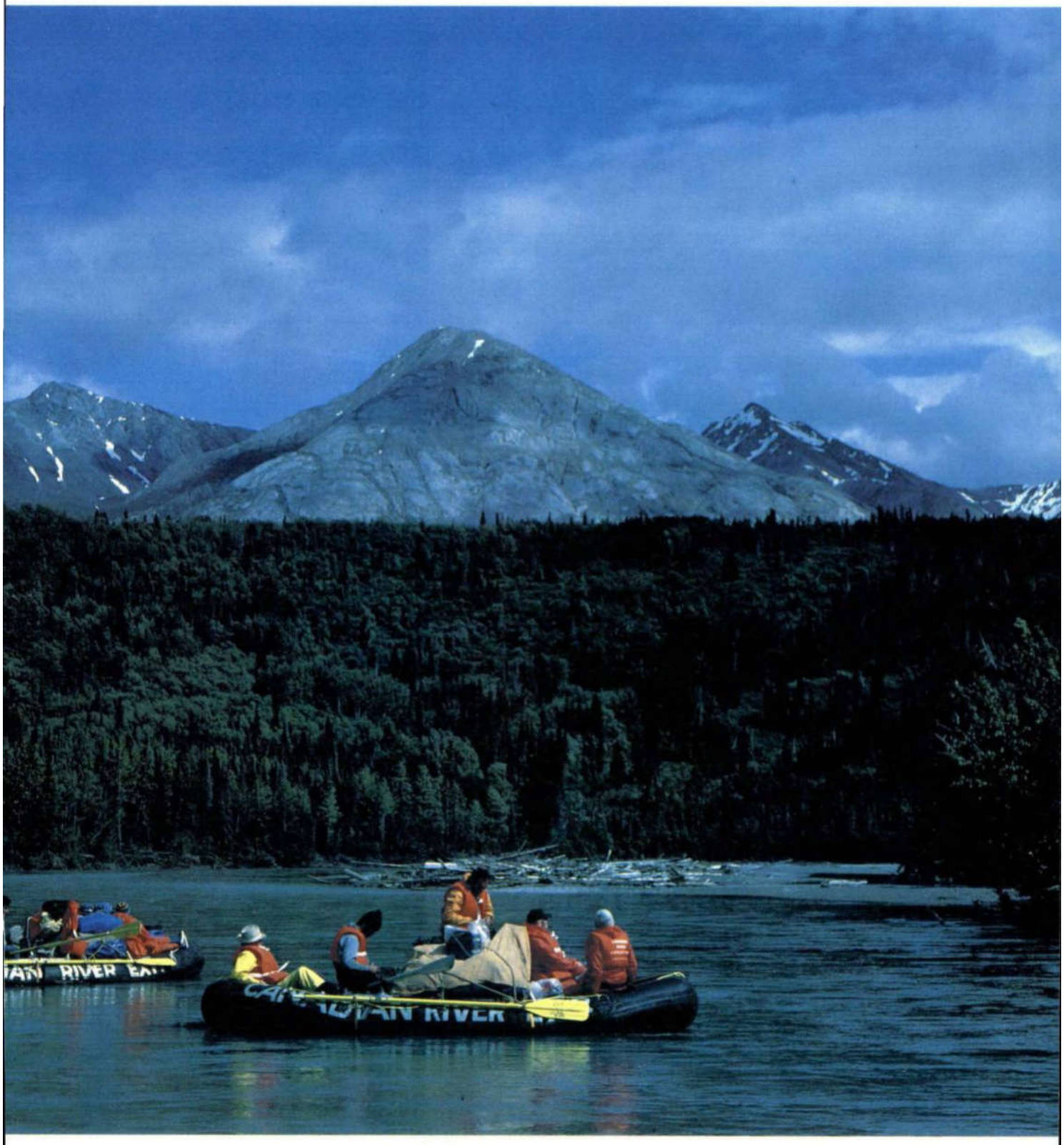
The drive along the Haines Highway is not long, but it packs in a good deal of history. Jack Dalton believed he could bring in pack horses for the next expedition inland from Haines to Dalton's Post, and



Coast Range mountains loom above the rafts in the lower Alsek River in Alaska.



Three rafts drift leisurely down the Alsek River.


RIVER

did so successfully, covering the 110 miles in seven days instead of several weeks. He cleared trail from Haines to Fort Selkirk on the Yukon River, and charged a toll for every man, head of cattle or horse that used it. Some two thousand head of cattle took his road in the summer of 1898, to feed the starving population of Dawson and the hungry stampeders.

The Tatshenshini flanks the highway, a rippling glacial stream, then makes a right-angled turn west at Dalton's Post. It is not navigable until this point. Dalton and Glave considered it to be too wild for canoes, and walked the bank until 100 miles from the river's source. From there they travelled in a twenty-foot cottonwood dugout canoe. Glave stated that it would have been dangerous even then, had they not been with experienced Indian guides.

Some three miles off the Haines Highway now, we bumped over a poor track to Dalton's abandoned post. Here we met the other three boatmen who had arrived to inflate the four 18-foot rafts, and set up new green tents on a sandpit near some Yukon fishermen. They had been successful in taking some large salmon and had started preparation of the first of a dozen excellent dinners. But first we had drinks and later a sound sleep on air mattresses.

Our group proved companionable and soon shook down to a routine.

We were awakened by the aroma of freshly made camp coffee and frying bacon. Every breakfast was different, and all appetites were satisfied before we struck camp in leisurely style. We folded our air mattresses, sleeping bags and tents, and stowed them in huge waterproof plastic bags which the boatmen lashed securely into the well of each raft. Johnny Mikes in the first raft led off over the bouncing waves of the upper river. The rafts were much safer than any dugout canoe, and faster too.

After the first night, we each selected our tent site and erected the canvas. The strongest of the guests helped unload the big bags. Others gathered firewood, a chore which might be slowed by picking luscious wild berries.

Lunch was always a picnic affair of breads, cold meats, spreads, cookies and fresh fruit laid out on a clean board. Dinner was a banquet of steak, or veal parmesan, shishkebab or fresh salmon.

Minor accidents occurred from time to time. One guest fell in, helping with a line, when a small boulder turned under his foot. But he soon dried out over a driftwood fire. A sharp rock poked out of the muddy water to rip the bottom of a neoprene raft. We had to bail a little, and Johnny sewed and cemented on another patch during the lunch stop.

At some unmarked point we passed from Yukon Territory into the province of British Columbia, where the river sprawled widely over gravel flats studded with cottonwood poplars. The current slowing down dropped its burden of silt to create innumerable islands and bars, a pattern the next freshet would alter. The channels braided around the gravel reefs like unravelled rope.

We found the flats splendid for tenting, and left the river as pristine as the explorers found it. We carried all our emptied cans and bottles back to Juneau for disposal. Degradable garbage was buried in a pit well away from the tents. It was both exciting and shivery to discover the eighteen-inch paw print of a brown bear near my tent. But it was not new, and this species is timid for all its size.

One afternoon several guests went hiking a short distance, accompanied by a rifle-bearing boatman. We watched them pass a clump of spruce, in search of bears. They could not see the grizzly that emerged from the trees to look after them curiously and then amble off across the flats.

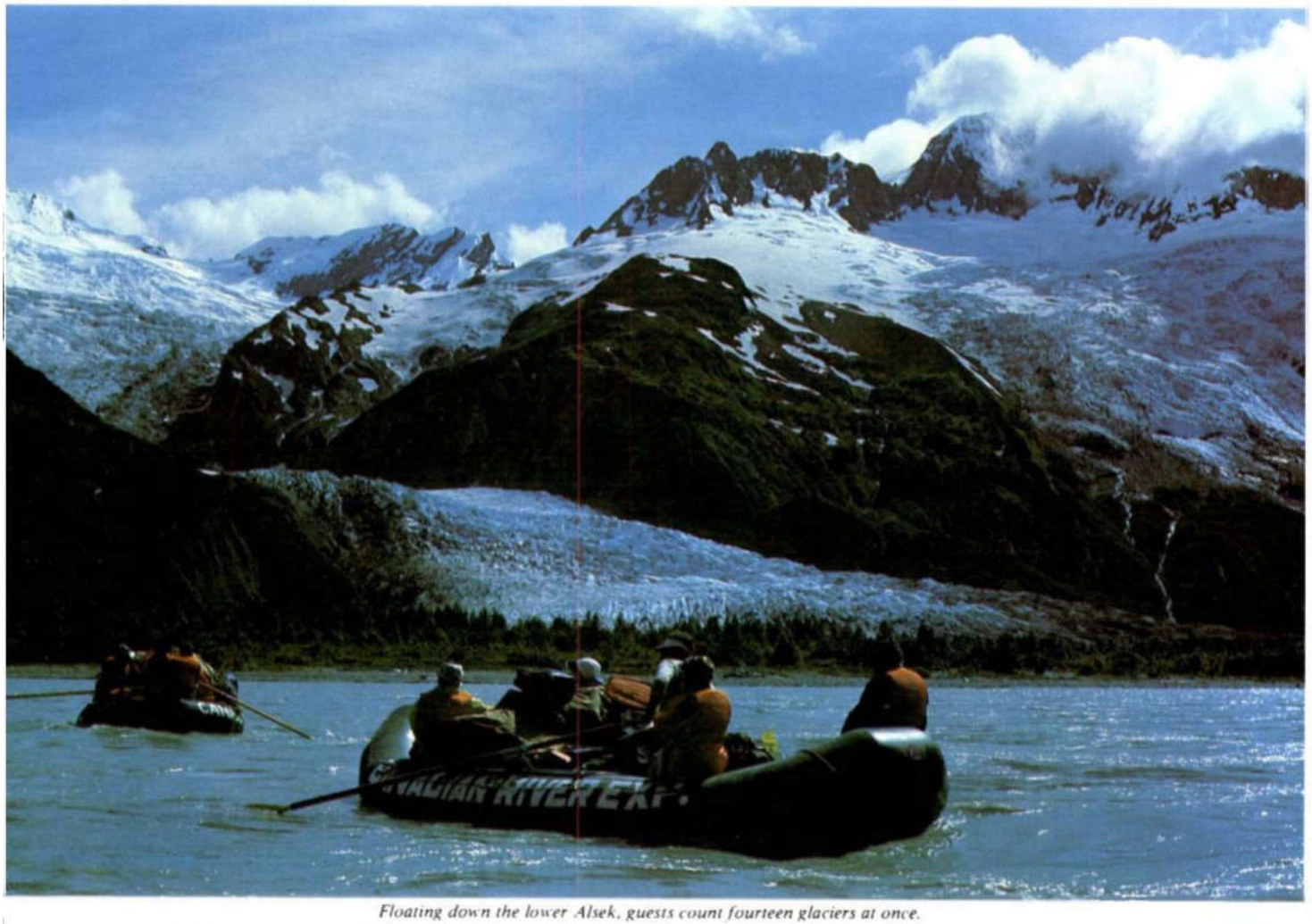
A cool wind swept upstream most of the time, and kept down the mosquitoes. We came upon many beaver cuttings, the poplar stumps like stubby pencils, and beaver tracks in moist silt; but there was no sign of the animals that made their homes in the banks rather than in lodges. Birds were plentiful enough to hearten our bird watchers. They included species from bald eagles to dark-feathered hummingbirds and water ouzels that dipped their tails, and phalaropes and sandpipers. One whole island was thickly covered with nesting gulls.

Of twelve days on the river, only one was rainy, and we voted to lay over within our snug tents. We ate dinner that night under a tarpaulin supported by four oars. By morning the low rain clouds gave way to crystal brilliance, in which the glaciers seemed to have moved closer. From the right, the powerful Alsek rushed in and from this point on, the Tatshenshini lost its individuality, and became part of the Alsek.

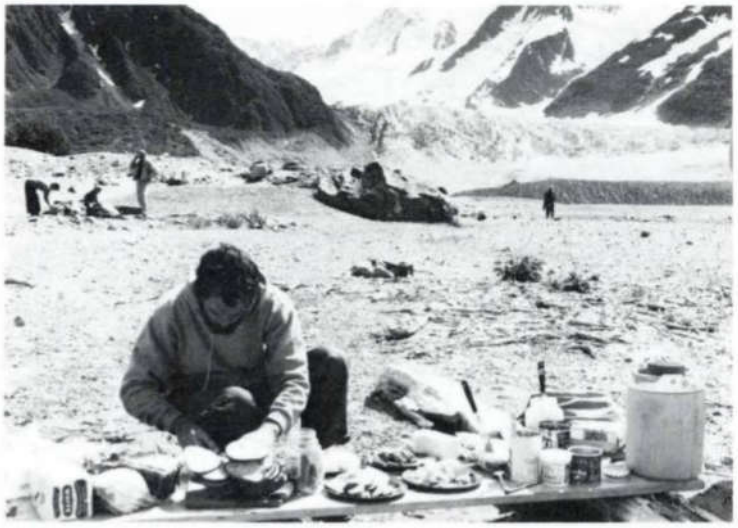
Somewhere in a maze of river islets we crossed the international boundary into the state of Alaska. A landmark was Mount Fairweather straddling the border; at 15,300 feet it was the highest peak in British Columbia, rising above other noble peaks and magnificent glaciers, named and unnamed. We were now into the snow-capped Coast Range. At one bend in the river we could count fourteen glaciers.

We halted near one of these, and scrambled over the moraine gravel to the hard crystalline ice of the tongue of the glacier. It rose slightly to a wall of bizarre-shaped ice towering above us. We picked our way carefully between deep crevasses and sinister-looking holes where meltwater vanished to chisel a subterranean path to the river. It was exhilarating to trudge over that rough old ice. Warmed by the sun, we sat on rocks that had been buried by the glacier for centuries, and now had surfaced and were gradually being carried to the river.

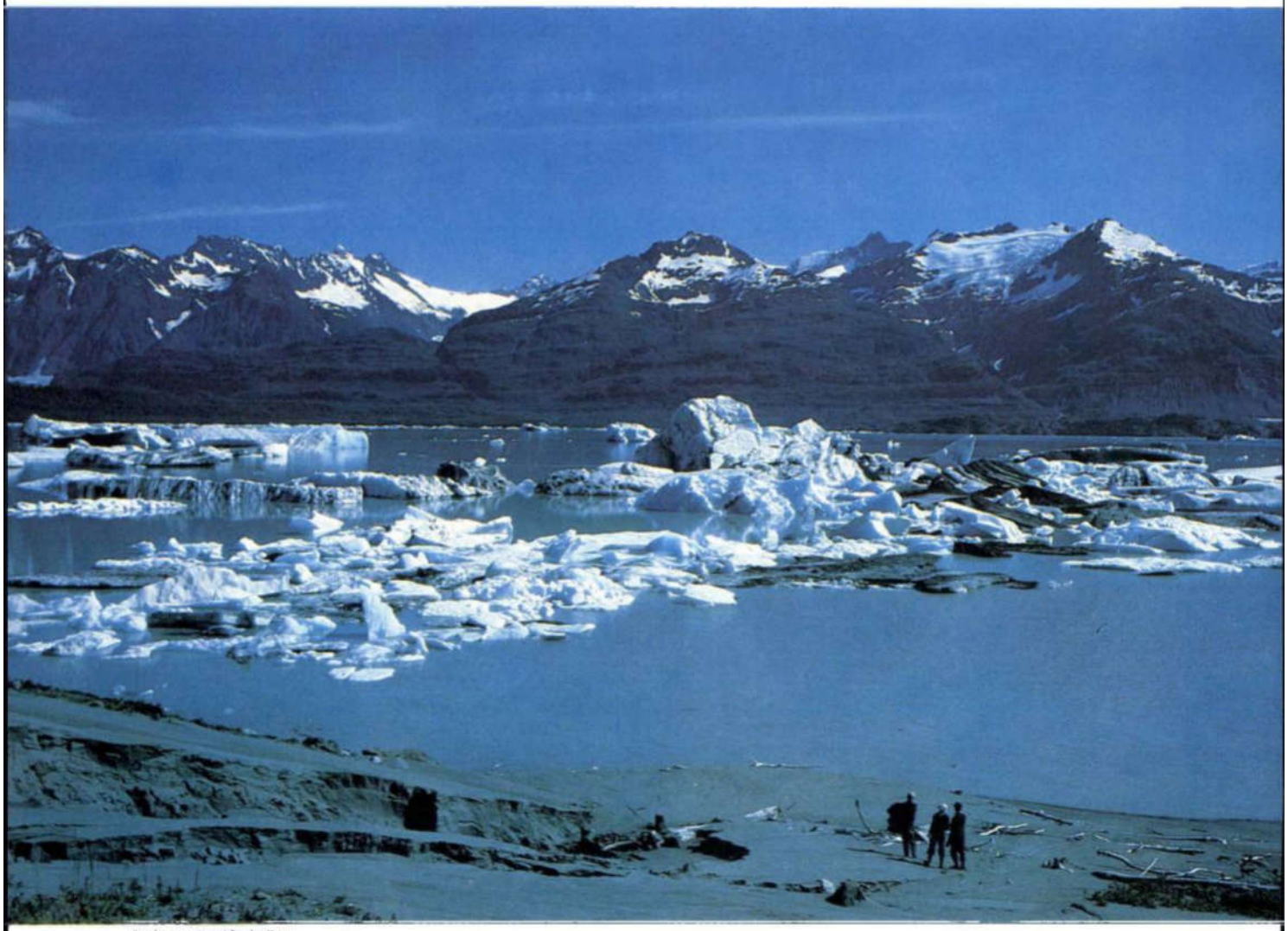
Driftwood, boulders and silt make up the beaches of Alsek Bay. The silt bears animal tracks — moose and beaver, and bear tracks as in this photograph. In the upper centre is Mount Fairweather; at 15,300 feet, the highest mountain in British Columbia.



Floating down the lower Alsek, guests count fourteen glaciers at once.



A picnic lunch beside a glacier on the lower Alsek River.

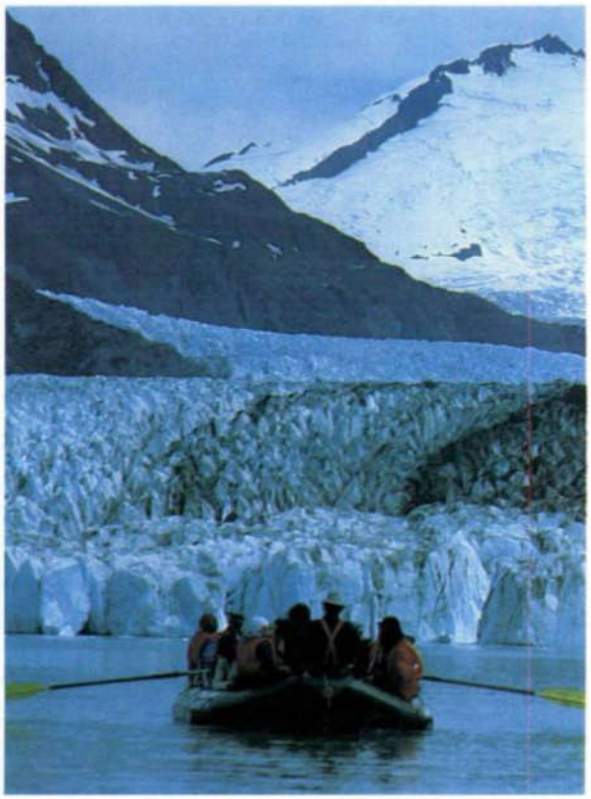


Icebergs in Alsek Bay.

Even more dramatic scenery awaited in Alsek Bay, a large bulge in the left bank some thirty miles from the river's outlet. For a couple of hours we simply cruised among icebergs large and small, floating and aground. In some, the trapped oxygen glowed sapphire blue in the sunlight.

The Alsek Glacier extends its front along three miles, and is constantly calving; when hundreds of tons of ice topple, an icefall hits the water with reverberating thunder. We approached no nearer than a quarter-mile, and the waves created by the splash rocked our rafts.

We tethered our rafts to one small berg and ate our lunch while gazing at the spectacle. In 1890, Glave wrote of the area, 'There is such an incessant display of scenic wild grandeur that it becomes tiresome; we can no longer appreciate it; its awe-inspiring influence no longer appeals to our hardened senses.'



The rafts approach the face of the Alsek Glacier. The mountains in the background form part of the British Columbia - Alaska border.

Before we could become bored, low clouds drifted in from the nearby ocean. The boatmen picked a way between ice-cakes, yet we grounded several times on gravel reefs; knee-deep in glacial water, the men lifted the raft free. Close to our campsite, eight or ten of the strongest men picked up the empty rafts and portaged them across the sandpit to our eleventh and last camp. Throughout the night the glaciers roared and crashed.

The Alsek debouched into Dry Bay, once a cannery site, where we had a rendezvous with a couple of airplanes.

Within half an hour of our arrival, two small aircraft taxied down a short gravel airstrip. We had packed our five-foot blue plastic bags, and lined them up handy to the airstrip. Everybody helped the cheerful pilots, for Alaskans take to the air as casually as other Americans take to cars. The planes were chock-full of gear and passengers. At the time we did not realize how fortunate we all were. Fog in Juneau or Dry Bay could have held us prisoner for days.

We who had to wait for the second run of the aircraft whiled away the time gathering bits of driftwood eroded to fantastic shapes of mermaids, elephants, ostriches and unicorns. When that interest waned we feasted on the abundant wild strawberries.

Our flight of eighty minutes to Juneau climbed to 8,500 feet to skim spectacular glaciers which we now observed from another angle. Viewed from above, Alaskan glaciers are ribbon-striped, dark bands of earth and dust alternating with fissured old ice.

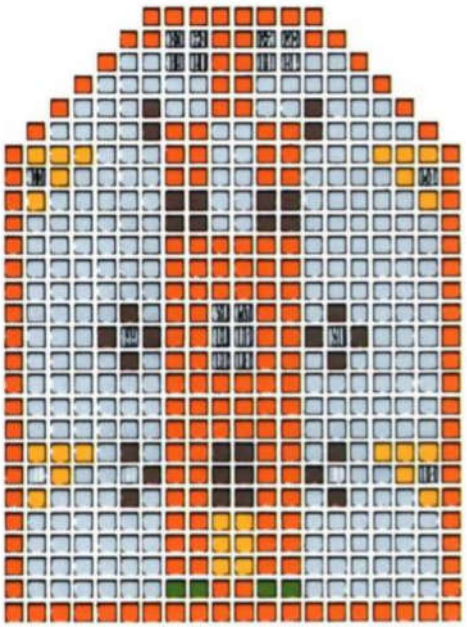
At Juneau airport, we had to pass through the United States Customs and Immigration.

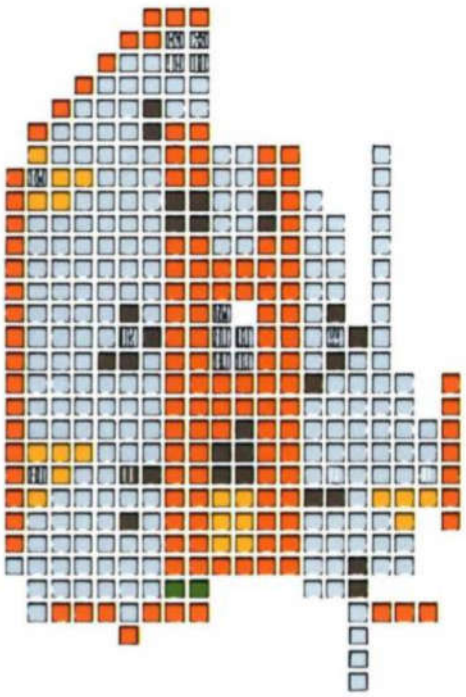
'Did you purchase anything on this trip?' one officer inquired automatically.

We laughed, and so did he when he realized where we had been. ◆

Art and Archaeology at York Factory

By Gary Adams





IT SEEMS that throughout its ample history people have always had a tendency to describe York Factory in strong terms. In 1841 Robert Ballantyne called it 'a monstrous blot on a swampy spot, with a partial view of the frozen sea!' In 1916 J. B. Tyrrell used similar language and described it as 'one continuous swamp covered with a thick, water-soaked blanket of bog mosses'. Descriptions such as these were none too harsh; for even today York Factory is singularly impressive in the adverseness of its environment.

The summers in the Hudson Bay Lowlands are short and wet by Western Canadian standards with a few hot days in July and August that bring forth the biting mosquitoes, black flies, bulldogs and midges in their teeming millions. September on that flat, water-soaked piece of land is an alternation of crisp, warm autumn days with cold, foggy ones. Winter sets in early on the coast and persists for long unendurable months until the first spring days in May or June. When one thinks about the cold, the fog, the sodden ground, the icy winds or the mosquitoes, it becomes very difficult to visualize living in that kind of environment. Yet people did.

The Hudson's Bay Company has had posts in the area of York Factory since 1682. Their operations there finally closed in 1957 after two hundred and seventy-five years of activity, with a population that ranged from a half dozen to over five hundred individuals including the local native population. Throughout this entire period the inhabitants suffered the ravages of nature with far less defence than we have today.

Now, York Factory is undergoing a revitalization of sorts. The ruins of the last occupation from 1789 to 1957 are being challenged by the elements and are losing the battle. Riverbank erosion is progressing at a rate of something over a half metre per year. To counteract this devastation, Parks Canada has been sending in an archaeological crew for the past four years to excavate those areas in the greatest danger.

To date, this crew has been exploring a number of

Gary Adams is York Factory archaeologist for Parks Canada, and has done field work at York Factory every summer season for the past five years.

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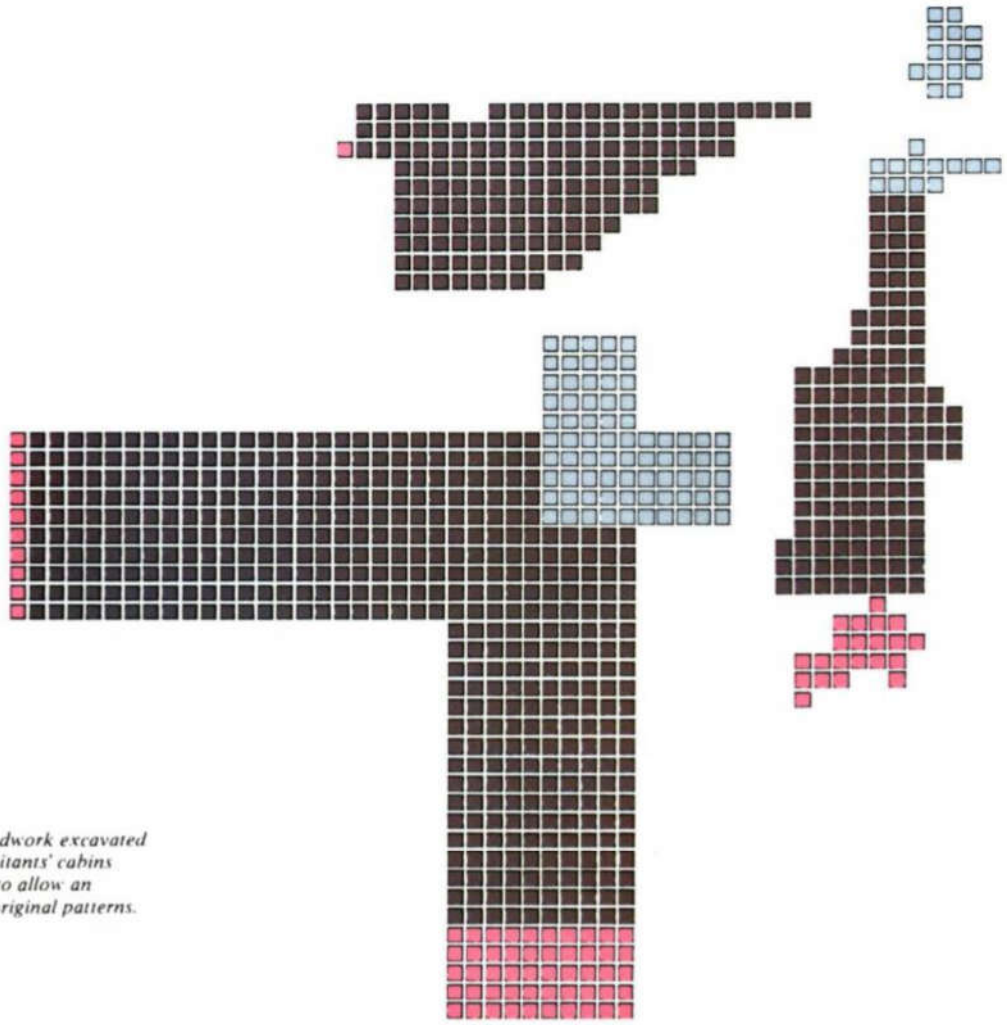

Two fragments of beadwork excavated from one of the inhabitants' cabins are complete enough to allow an interpretation of the original patterns.

diverse areas including a saw-pit where logs were hand-sawn into planks; an ice-house where meat was kept frozen all summer; a storage house for dog meat; a pier used in the latter decades of the site's occupation and a cabin of one of the local inhabitants. Throughout this exercise, various artifacts have been revealed that attest to the harsh life-style of the York Factory inhabitants. Hand-forged nails and hand-constructed tools; gun, trap and harpoon parts; fragments of coarse woollen cloth; parts of wooden barrels, glass bottles and ceramic crocks for putting up and storing food against hard times; Carron stove parts and cast-iron pots all give a uniform impression of the life-style. On occasion however, artifacts turn up that both astound and impress the excavators. These artifacts represent the arts and handicrafts of a fur-trade settlement.

Whether it was in spite of the harsh conditions, because of those conditions or just man's natural inclination to express himself, art was certainly alive and well at York Factory. It is perhaps an irony that those very conditions of cold and wet which spawned the art have acted upon its remains to preserve traces for all of us to witness. While the remains are scanty, they are nevertheless preserved and brought forward by the archaeologist's trowel. It is in this article that we would like to present a *première* of the art of York Factory.

Perhaps the most common expression is in the decorative art field. Already, several pieces of such art have come to light.

Beadwork was always a favourite decorative form of the local inhabitants and beads have been found by the thousands during the course of excavation at York Factory. Occasionally these random beads have been supplemented by a real treasure — fragments of beadwork still in their original configuration. A total of six such finds has already been excavated, two of which have been reconstructed. The problem with these has been that although the beads are still in place, all the connecting threads and material have decomposed so that each bead must be carefully removed and recorded in relation to its neighbours.

Excavations at one of the inhabitants' cabins have yielded two fine examples of the beadwork which remain sufficiently intact to allow a reconstruction. The first of these objects appears to be a decoration

Several panels, probably painted by an artistically inclined individual in the late eighteenth century, were recently discovered as shelving at York Factory.

Scenes on a fragment of birch-bark eroded from the riverbank at York Factory.

for a moccasin vamp. The overall size is twenty-six beads long and twenty beads wide with one squared end, while the other end comes almost to a point. It contains six different kinds of seed beads including clear round and red, clear, orange, blue and green faceted. While a certain portion of the network was damaged in excavation and displaced by ground disturbances, there is still enough of it left intact to allow an interpretation of its original pattern. The figure (Page 38) shows the shape of the recorded pattern and one hypothesized interpretation of how it might have looked.

The second object has the appearance of a portion of a geometric design that may have been added to other pieces to form a larger pattern. Some possible applications of this form of beadwork would have been on jackets, moccasin uppers, tote bags or shirts. A portion of the centre of this particular network was sliced off in excavation and all the ends were partially disturbed or frayed in use. Only three types of beads were sewn into this pattern: blue, pink and white faceted. However, like the preceding example there was enough of this particular sample surviving to allow us to interpret a completed object (Page 39).

Decoration was not limited to beadwork at York Factory, and a few essentially utilitarian items displayed the handiwork of the tradesmen who worked in that isolated outpost. One must remember that York Factory was always a major site and that during its peak years as a depot, a number of tradesmen and artisans were gainfully employed producing material for both the trade and the settlement. Shipwrights built sloops and York boats; carpenters built and repaired buildings and furniture; a blacksmith supplied most of the metal hardware needs; a cooper worked much of his time constructing barrels and kegs; a tinsmith formed pots, pans and household items; and a tailor made and repaired clothing.

These workers and their counterparts in other trades were probably most concerned with utilitarian wares and items of solid, functional design. This, in any event, is what the archaeology suggests. Yet every once in a while, whether it was for diversion, special commission or out of sheer boredom, a workman would add a touch of himself to his work to create something pleasing to the eye.

Perhaps the most common expressions of such labour are found in the work of the carpenter and blacksmith. The most obvious examples of the carpenter's art are found in the depot itself. This one structure, started in 1831, took four years to complete. While its original purpose was for storerooms, packing rooms and warehousing, it still contained some remarkable instances of woodworking. In some of the rooms, exposed beams were bevelled along the edges and finished on the ends. Banisters were finished with knobs and the front doors were panelled. In one or two rooms, every wall plank was edged with a narrow roll to create a different visual effect from the remainder of the building.

Archaeologically, the best example of the woodworker's trade is a small, wooden bowl. This bowl was probably turned on a lathe and as it is of spruce

Part of a small spruce-wood bowl, probably turned on a lathe, hand-decorated and painted.

wood, it was likely done locally. What makes it exceptional is the fact that the entire outside was decorated with hand-cut geometric motifs that were of a style commonly seen in the native art of the area. The patterns were probably painted also; faint impressions of blue and red paint are still observable on the surfaces of the bowl.

The art of the blacksmith was most often seen in the handiwork on the door hardware. Door handles, latches, shutterdogs and escutcheons were often decorated with incised geometric patterns or with plates of metal cut to form starbursts, French curls or shield-like designs.

Along with decorative techniques, archaeology has also recovered a few examples of fine art. Excavation at the storage house for dog meat brought forth a tiny, carved animal figurine. It is 38 mm long and carved out of a piece of sea-mammal ivory in the form of a crouching animal. The crouching position and sharp ears suggest that it is a representation of a lynx, but it is stylized enough to be hotly debated by a number of people who see it as a bear or a dog. It has a shank eye on the base which indicates that it was intended to be attached to something else.

Another piece of art was found on a fragment of birch-bark that had eroded out of the riverbank. The fragment showed evidence of having been cut on two

sides and the shorter of these sides still bore holes from having been sewn to another piece of bark. On one face of this fragment two partial scenes were found, inscribed into the bark with a pointed instrument. The lower of these scenes indicates two human figures, one on each side of a triangular object that may represent a tepee. A vertical, snake-like line

Carved ivory figure, possibly a lynx, 38 mm long.

in the centre of this tepee may indicate a column of smoke. The second scene shows two human figures standing in a boat. One of these humans holds a round object like a drum, stretched hide, or shield, while the second figure is characterized with something that resembles a bib.

The bark fragment itself was suggestive of the sacred scrolls of the Ojibway Indians. These scrolls were made and used as religious and historical documents of that tribe but a close comparison with the motifs of several known scrolls revealed that there was no similarity in artistic style or content.

Perhaps the most significant piece of art to be discovered at York Factory did not come from archaeological sources at all. This piece is a series of paintings displayed as wall murals on wooden panels. These panels, at some point in the past, were ripped up, turned over, and reused as shelving. The remaining portions were discovered a number of years ago and were recently removed from the site for conservation purposes.

There were originally two sets of panels, each with a number of scenes painted in what appears to be an oil paint. The first set is composed of four panels and contains two scenes. The first scene is a red-jacketed hunter with a musket who is in the process of shooting two geese over a swamp. This scene is probably very typical of sporting activity at York Factory as was attested to by Ballantyne, among others. The second scene is a caricature of a gentleman (possibly the factor) and his wife at tea. While the white-haired gentleman in coat and vest enjoys his pipe with beer and port, the lady takes tea from a silver samovar. The lady has her red dress covered in an apron and her head is covered with a bonnet. The most interesting aspect of her appearance though, is the dancing fox that stands on her shoulder. Perhaps some inside joke about the Company was at play here.

The second set of panels probably had at least three boards at one time but much of this has been lost. What is left is the impression of a large dance scene with a fiddler at each end and a dancing couple in the centre. It is this couple that is most intriguing. He is buck-toothed and dressed to the hilt in a coat and high collar. His hair is braided and he holds out his bejewelled pinkie with much gallantry to a ridiculous looking lady with a feathered hat and monstrous earrings.

All these scenes were probably caricatures of persons and events that were familiar to some artistically inclined individual at York Factory. The artist is not known but the buckle shoes and clothing styles suggest a late eighteenth-century time period at the latest. That someone took offence to these renditions is evident in their subsequent mistreatment which, by a twist of fate, is probably the very reason that they are preserved to this day. Although the actual paints have not yet been analysed, the artist apparently made do with available materials. The black pigment has an unusual texture that may mean some form of blacking material. Also, to represent the lacy texture of the apron of the seated lady, the artist used a form of finger-paint technique.

The dance scene in the painting has led into the last form of art that has been recovered in excavation at York Factory. However, in this case, it is restricted to the evidence of another art — music. One cannot hear the painted fiddler any more than one can hear the music from a rusted instrument but the implication is certainly there and it is found in abundance. As well as forty-three phonograph record parts, a total of fifteen Jew's harps and nine harmonicas and pitch pipes have been found. This also says nothing about the washboards, saws, jugs, or anvils that might have been gathered up on a raucous Saturday night.

Indeed, the life-style was harsh, bleak and lonely at York Factory but the human spirit was probably never daunted by such trivialities. A sense of beauty or a sense of fun and even the two in combination permitted, or perhaps encouraged, the artistic expression of many an individual at York Factory. Today archaeological techniques are adding a new dimension to that expression. ◆

The Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Rebellion

By J. E. Rea

The York and Simcoe Battalion march north to Humboldt, May 1885, to serve as supporting troops for General Middleton after his initial setback at Batoche.

IN THE SUMMER OF 1884, when Louis Riel returned to Western Canada after years of frustrated wanderings in the United States, he was welcomed by the Métis with hope born of desperation. In remote and seemingly indifferent Ottawa, where the animosities of 1869-70 no longer burned fiercely, the reappearance of Riel awoke but few unhappy echoes. No thrill of alarm disturbed central Canada's complacent neglect. Frontier days were past.

For the young Dominion had been transformed in fifteen years. The Canadian Pacific Railway was being rushed to completion through a Northwest made secure by the country's own paramilitary protectors, the North West Mounted Police. Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald was now more preoccupied with Canada's first investigation of industrial relations than with dimly heard calls for help from the primitive Métis of the western plains.

As the winter of 1884-85 passed and petition after petition went unanswered, Métis desperation began to harden into resolve. Conditions were worse on many of the Indian reserves as a parsimonious Superintendent of Indian Affairs forced more and more bands to choose between starvation and violence. Indeed, the plight of the Indians and Métis was symptomatic of the general malaise in Manitoba and the North-West Territories which had produced the first of many outbursts of agrarian discontent, resulting in the short-lived Manitoba and North West Farmers' Union. It was dismissed in Ottawa as so

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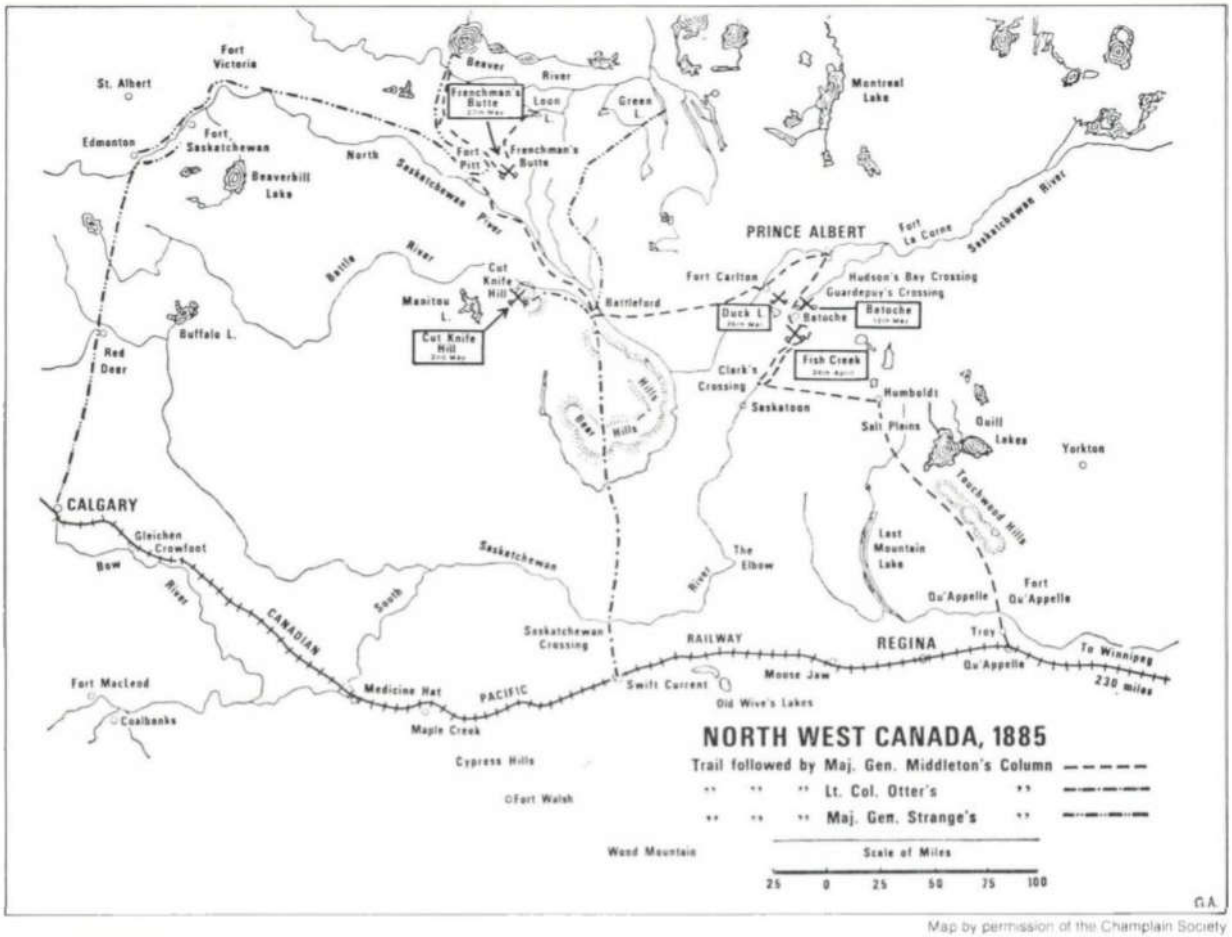
Dr Rea is a professor of history at the University of Manitoba. He has written the introduction to the forthcoming Volume XXXIII of the Hudson's Bay Record Society: 'Letters of Charles John Brydges, 1883-89'.



Map by permission of the Champlain Society

much Liberal mischief. But it was in the valley of the North Saskatchewan, its further prospects blighted by the decision to build the railway across the southern prairie, that discontent flared into armed resistance in March of 1885.

In the Winnipeg offices of the Hudson's Bay Company, the largest commercial and land business in the nation, there was considerable bitterness that the Dominion Government had allowed the situation to deteriorate. Joseph Wrigley, the chief trade commissioner, who had held his post for only a few months, warned his superiors in London that Riel 'was back and stirring up trouble'. He recalled later that he could not 'refrain from the expression of regret that sufficient enquiry had not been made into the justice of the claims of the Half-Breeds; in fact, discontent in the North West has increased to such an extent that had not this outbreak occurred it is not impossible that there might have been trouble even in Manitoba.' The Company's land commissioner, C. J. Brydges, was, as usual, much more outspoken. He informed London that 'the difficulty could have been warded off for some time, if there had not been so much delay and stupidity on the part of the Government in dealing with land matters.'

But from Montreal came smug reassurance. Donald A. Smith, one of the two members of the Company's governing committee resident in Canada, had been in touch with Macdonald and had 'no doubt the Government will act promptly in restoring order, nor is it at all likely that there will be any difficulty in doing so as the circumstances [are] so entirely different now with the great facilities for immediate dispatch of aid from those which existed at Fort Garry during the former disturbance.' Such sublime faith in the capacity of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the government to react swiftly and strongly was not shared by Wrigley, however, who wrote to William Armit, secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company, that in his view, 'the crisis is grave and considering the stake the Company has in the country I feel confident that it will be the wish of the Board that everything possible should be done to assist the Government in restoring order.'

Wrigley's immediate response to the attack by the Métis on Major Crozier's small force at Duck Lake on 26 March 1885 was to place the resources of the Company at the disposal of the Dominion authorities, a move endorsed by the Governor and Committee in London. The very strength of the Company — its vast network of trading posts, supply depots and its unrivalled land and water communication system —

Public Archives of Canada PA-12194

Adolphe Caron, Minister of Militia and Defence, was responsible for directing the government's campaign to quell the 1885 rebellion.

made it vulnerable as well to marauding Indians and Métis alike. This was Wrigley's dread: that Riel would succeed 'in tampering with the loyalty of the Indians'. It was a fear shared throughout the prairies and quickly cost Riel what little support he had gained among the white settlers of the North Saskatchewan Valley. Protecting the Company's interests would therefore demand offering its officers and resources to the government's service.

And the Dominion of Canada would discover how great was its need of the Company's assistance. Despite its presumed maturity, the country was ill-prepared to deal with an armed insurrection, even that of four to five hundred poorly equipped Métis and the two desperate Indian bands of Poundmaker and Big Bear.

Responsible for directing the government's attempt to quell the outbreak was a junior minister, the youngest member of Macdonald's cabinet, who represented Quebec County in the House of Commons. Joseph Philippe René Adolphe Caron had been named Minister of Militia and Defence by the Prime Minister in 1880, when only thirty-seven years of age. It was considered a minor portfolio and Caron seemed as much interested in the social and patronage implications of his office as the improvement of military efficiency. When he introduced his department's administrative estimates to the House early in 1885, they amounted to a little over $40,000.

The permanent force establishment consisted of some 750 men, concentrated in two artillery batteries at Quebec City and Kingston, and assorted quartermasters and paymasters scattered about the various military districts to serve the needs of the militia units, which were considered the country's primary military reservoir. There was no commissariat, no medical service and no transport. There were only four regular officers located at headquarters in Ottawa and one of these was an aide-de-camp. In command of this force, and the various militia units, was a seconded British officer, Major General Frederick D. Middleton, who had assumed his duties less than a year before Duck Lake and who had never been to Western Canada. Moulding the hastily formed North West Field Force, as it was dubbed, into an efficient military instrument would soon prove to require all the help that Wrigley and the Hudson's Bay Company could command.

Wednesday, 19 March, was the feast of St Joseph, patron of the Métis and a day of mystic import for Louis Riel. He chose it to seize Batoche and proclaim a provisional government. It was also a day of considerable significance for Adolphe Caron. He

Joseph Wrigley, chief trade commissioner for the Hudson's Bay Company in Winnipeg, 1884-1894.

Manitoba Archives

H.B.C. Collection

The Midland Battalion, made up of seven rural militia battalions from Ontario, was photographed at the C P R station in Winnipeg prior to continuing west by train to Swift Current, mid-April 1885.

HBC Collection

Main Street, Winnipeg, looking north c. 1882. From left: the new H B C store, Custom House, Dominion Land Office, H B C Land Office, Winnipeg Hotel.

would be obliged to raise a citizen army, move the majority of it over two thousand miles to the North-West Territories by rail and then equip and supply it to move several hundred miles overland at the worst possible time of year. Without transport and support units, Caron realized that he would have to rely on whatever civilian assistance could be found to provide immediate aid. In those days of intense partisanship and patronage-mongering, he would be subjected to severe pressure to spread the largesse of war among the party faithful. The harm this could do to his attempt to create an efficient logistic system might be incalculable. At the same time, he would be pressed by the Council to keep expenses to an absolute minimum. And throughout, Caron would have Sir John looking anxiously over his shoulder.

Over the following weekend, the crucial supply decision was made by the government to employ the Hudson's Bay Company as its principal agent to arrange for provisions and transport for the field force being raised. As General Middleton hurried west, communications took place between the Prime Minister and Donald A. Smith in Montreal, and between Caron and Joseph Wrigley in Winnipeg.

The interests of the Company were clear enough to its officers. The rebellion must be suppressed with all dispatch or its fur, land and commercial business for the whole year would suffer. It was also vital to protect its supply depots from pillage; the northern fur trade could be interrupted for eighteen months if the complicated forwarding network to the Athabaska country were broken. For Smith and Wrigley, to throw the full organization of the Company into the lists against Riel was simply good sense. Whether it would be good business, as well, would remain to be determined.

On the day before Duck Lake, Caron began to implement his plans. The only official of the department on the spot was the deputy adjutant general, Lieutenant Colonel C. F. Houghton, a man of much ambition but limited talent, whom Middleton described as 'perfectly useless'. Houghton was instructed by Caron to engage 'the Hudson Bay Co. for transport and subsistence of men forwarded to Qu'appelle.' Houghton dutifully contacted Wrigley. 'Hudson Bay Co. will undertake transport', he

reported to Caron, and asked 'am I authorized to [leave expenses] to their discretion?' But Wrigley had actually replied to Houghton 'I beg to remind you that up to the present no instructions have been received for transport.' Thus began the confusion of responsibility (and liability) for provisions and the movement of such supplies to the front. It was never clearly resolved.

In addition, Wrigley was understandably concerned as to how accounts should be kept and compensation paid. While he was reasonably sure the Governor and Committee would sanction his on-the-spot arrangements in the emergency, there would have to be an eventual accounting. Typical of Wrigley's attempt to guard against future problems was an urgent letter to Chief Factor Archibald McDonald at Fort Qu'Appelle which would soon become a vital jumping-off point for the field force: 'All supplies furnished by you to the Military Expedition must be charged at wholesale prices . . . get receipts.' The admonition was repeated throughout the Company's service.

Yet there seemed absolutely no confusion in Wrigley's mind when he had an opportunity to inform the secretary in London of the steps he had taken. On the day after Duck Lake he explained that business had been badly upset by the outbreak and continued:

> The Company have only yesterday been asked to undertake the whole of the transport and provisions for the expedition. I was in considerable difficulty, for while on the one hand I was sure the Company would desire to do all possible to help the Government and there must be no delay, on the other hand, I was unable to get proper authority from Ottawa to incur expenses.

Caron resolved this difficulty with instructions that seemed to impose no financial limitations on the lengths the government was prepared to go to quell the uprising. There seems no doubt then that the Company was requested to provide supplies and transportation facilities and that Caron appeared willing to commit the Dominion treasury to whatever expense was necessary. He advised Smith that the Company could draw upon the government 'for advances required to provide transport and subsistence. Let me know what amount required.' Wrigley indicated to the minister that he would forward the accounts.

That very day General Middleton arrived in Winnipeg eager to be off to the Northwest and determined to keep a firm hand on the details of the expedition. Although Middleton and the Winnipeg 90th moved off quickly for Qu'Appelle, the general made two appointments that were to have serious consequences. Captain Herbert Swinford, quartermaster of the 90th, was named supply officer in charge of the primary depot at Qu'Appelle. Swinford had come west with the Wolseley expedition and remained in Winnipeg in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company. He now acted directly under Middleton's orders and dealt only with Wrigley in purchasing supplies. To hire badly needed teams, Middleton chose, in the first instance, Chief Factor Archibald McDonald, who was in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company post at Fort Qu'Appelle. But he selected as his chief transport officer, one S. L. Bedson, a former British army officer and current warden of the penitentiary in Manitoba. Both Swinford and Bedson looked to Middleton, not the Minister of Militia, for direction. Furthermore, the general took Houghton with the column and then proceeded to ignore him, leaving Wrigley without any local contact with the Militia Department.

The problem became even more acute because of the lack of any effective chain of command and because over-enthusiastic militia officers did not hesitate to order material from outlying Company posts or from Wrigley himself. Typical of this difficulty were demands such as those of Major C. A. Boulton, who raised his own troop of scouts, and asked Wrigley abruptly to 'Send authority to give me credit, through Hudson's Bay Company for outfit for sixty Mounted men, horses included. Settlements must be protected.' Wrigley simply determined to protect himself and turned aside all such requests, as in his reply to Boulton, 'It would have given me great pleasure to have acceded to your request, but we are absolutely prohibited from advancing money on private account under any circumstances.' This *mélange* of command boded ill for the Minister of Militia and for Wrigley as well.

General Middleton marched his forces out of Fort Qu'Appelle on 6 April. They moved north-westward to Clarke's Crossing, north of what is now Saskatoon; then down the South Saskatchewan where they fought the first substantial engagement of the campaign at Fish Creek. Middleton then proceeded to Batoche and in a three-day battle, from the 9th to the 12th of May, routed Riel and his Métis. The military accomplishment has been appropriately lauded; but it was no mean achievement in logistics to get the army there at all. Moreover, during the progress of the march, Middleton's gruff confidence began to influence Caron. As the sense of urgency and the initial doubts dissipated, he became more open to persistent demands both of politics and patronage and saw increasing danger in a general dependence on one source of supply. By mid-May his relationship with Wrigley was much cooler.

The first to note the changes and protest against them was Captain Swinford, from his strategic position at Troy, near Fort Qu'Appelle.

Public Archives of Canada C-17632

Militiamen escorting an ox-train. Transportation was difficult and costly in the early weeks of the campaign before the rivers were navigable. Supplies and in some cases troops had to be moved by wagon teams of horses or oxen.

> . . . if the HB Coy had not been at the back of this affair they never could have got along. . . . I attribute the speedy ordering and transit of goods to the fact that there existed no red tape between myself and the HB Coy and you can depend upon it that I shall do my utmost to see that the HB Coy are not made a catspaw of and get fair pay and come out of this affair with honor and credit to themselves.

It had all begun amicably enough. As unit after unit arrived from Eastern Canada, their outfits were completed at Winnipeg by Wrigley and they were then rushed on to Qu'Appelle where they picked up their transport train and headed across country to overtake Middleton's column.

The provisioning problem for Wrigley had several aspects. Until Batoche, he never had any clear understanding of the number of troops for whom he was expected to provide. Caron was so little in control of the military situation that he hesitated to press Middleton for some upper figure on which provisioning estimates could be based, preferring to respond to the general's requests as they arrived. It was equally unclear how long the force would be in the field — three weeks, two months, five? There was, furthermore, no supply officer in Winnipeg to assist Wrigley with such problems. In terms of expense they were serious indeed. If he simply reacted to the almost daily telegrams that came in from Middleton, Swinford or Houghton, local merchants would very quickly raise their prices as provisions diminished. Wrigley finally wired Caron on 2 April that he had learned 'two thousand two hundred men are coming in addition to those advised [there were ultimately some 4,500 troops in the field]. Are we to find provisions? Yesterday's papers state your Government have made contract Chicago for tinned meat, is this true? or shall we provide? Beg early reply.' 'You are to make all arrangements until further notice,' Caron responded. 'No contracts have been made by Government except with you.'

The Minister attempted some regularization when he dispatched Colonel W. H. Jackson to Winnipeg to serve as principal supply officer at that point. Relations between Wrigley and Jackson were, at first, cordial; but the appointment did little to increase information on which to base provisioning decisions, since Middleton continued to operate through Swinford at Troy.

The fate of Wrigley's sensible suggestion of establishing a supply depot at Winnipeg is indicative of the rather weak grasp of the situation held by Caron. Wrigley had first, of course, to get Jackson on side. Once done, he suggested to the minister: 'We shall immediately arrange for two months' rations for five thousand men. . . . Please send acceptance of this or wire definitely and exactly alterations you desire.' 'I instructed you to prepare for one month' was the cranky reply, but Caron, as we shall see, was more preoccupied with patronage problems. Jackson's timid support now seems merely ironic. 'Recommend supplies for sixty days,' Jackson told Caron, 'but you should be in best position to decide.' Wrigley then tried again, arguing that without stockpiling prices would escalate rapidly. Caron finally capitulated but only after two costly weeks had been lost.

There were comic moments as well. As the troops poured through Winnipeg, Wrigley took the precaution of ordering 100,000 pounds of tinned meat from Armour and Company in Chicago. However, the Minister of Militia had been told that somehow the Irish-American Fenians had got at it. 'Beware of Chicago tinned meat — we have had information that it has been poisoned,' he worriedly advised Wrigley.

Public Archives of Canada C-17635

Guarding forage at Qu'Appelle. Providing hay and oats for the teams was a great expense. Since the supply trains had to move across the open prairie in early spring before there was any natural forage, the draught animals consumed almost as much as they could carry.

The latter, of course, was stuck with the meat, an impatient general and some three thousand troops to feed. 'Thanks for the warning', he replied laconically. 'Shall tin meat now bought be issued? Decision requested immediately, meat wanted.' Caron ducked. 'If you consider it safe issue it. Could it be analyzed?' The meat was tested by the government analyst who reported that he could find nothing wrong with it. Caron was so informed and urged to make a decision. 'Decide with Jackson, what you do jointly will be satisfactory to me,' was the ambiguous answer. The meat was issued and the army suffered no ill effects.

Another provisioning problem of some significance was the desire to replace the issue of tinned meat with fresh meat, a desire that sprang as much from patronage motives as the very real preference of the troops. Pressure came from several sources, including Amos Rowe, the editor of the Conservative *Times* of Winnipeg. Rowe approached Mackenzie Bowell, a cabinet colleague of Caron, and A. W. Ross, M.P. for the City of Winnipeg. He reported widespread complaints among the volunteers about tinned meat and their hope for fresh beef. 'Gallagher & Son Winnipeg say [they] can furnish all required; are good men [meaning Tories] — should get contract.' Wrigley was, in fact, dubious about such a change, arguing that 'drivers and horses would be required, great shrinkage of cattle on march, risk of stampedes[,] loss of hides and tallow, uncertainty of fodder, difficulty of fuel for cooking'. But Caron pressed him hard to do something for Gallagher. Finally, Wrigley referred the question to Middleton and only after receiving his approval did he make a contract with Gallagher, 'according to General's directions'.

Wrigley's principal concern was keeping Middleton's main column supplied. But he had, as well, to consider the needs of Colonel Otter, who was leading a column northward from Swift Current to relieve Battleford; as well as that of General Strange who had been ordered to proceed from Calgary to Edmonton and then down the North Saskatchewan to try and envelop the bands of Poundmaker and Big Bear. The first was handled easily enough from the large depot at Swift Current; but keeping Strange supplied was considerably more difficult, since he was invariably beyond telegraph communication. Wrigley managed it partly out of the Hudson's Bay posts at Calgary and Edmonton and partly by diverting items required from elsewhere. But Strange had never been authorized to requisition supplies and Wrigley had to go through the tedious procedure of clearing it first through Middleton and then Caron, while testy old General Strange fumed away at Edmonton.

Public Archives of Canada C-18109

Hanging a side of beef. Fresh beef was a welcome change for troops weary of their diet of tinned meat.

Wrigley coped from day to day through this initial stage of the campaign; but in his private communications to his superiors, he remained apprehensive. A clear warning was sent to Smith in Montreal, 'military organization defective, causing embarrassment, [and] responsibility, doing all possible help Government, promote interest Company, serious political consequences may follow.' After three weeks of intense effort, Wrigley reported to the Governor and Committee in London: 'The troops appear to have turned out promptly and present a creditable appearance; but all military supply organization seems to be miserably defective. I have had to be firm in resisting any interference in the work of finding provisions and transport which the Company has undertaken.'

Despite the recurring difficulties of providing food, equipment and ammunition for the field force, the supply system was a model of efficiency when compared to the chaos in the transport service. The supply trains had to move across open prairie in the very early spring before there was any natural forage for the draught animals. This meant that, as the supply lines extended over several hundred miles of countryside, the teams began to consume almost all they could carry just getting from the depot to the front and back. Since it was spring and most teams would normally be employed in ploughing, costs were going to be inordinately high. But despite these impediments, which could be anticipated and dealt with, the expensive muddle which developed can be traced directly to Caron's complete failure to create any systematic organization and to the fact that he was cowed by Middleton.

The Minister of Militia, through Colonel Houghton, had instructed that all supplies and transport should be obtained through the Hudson's Bay Company. But as soon as the general arrived at Troy, he began to sow confusion. After first asking Chief Factor Archie McDonald to gather teams he began to deal with Major W. R. Bell, a former militia officer and then manager of the Qu'Appelle Valley Farming Company, a commercial operation near Indian Head. Through Middleton, Bell became the largest supplier of teams to the Force; and Middleton, unwisely, made him quartermaster at Qu'Appelle. This meant that Bell, in effect, was contractor to himself.

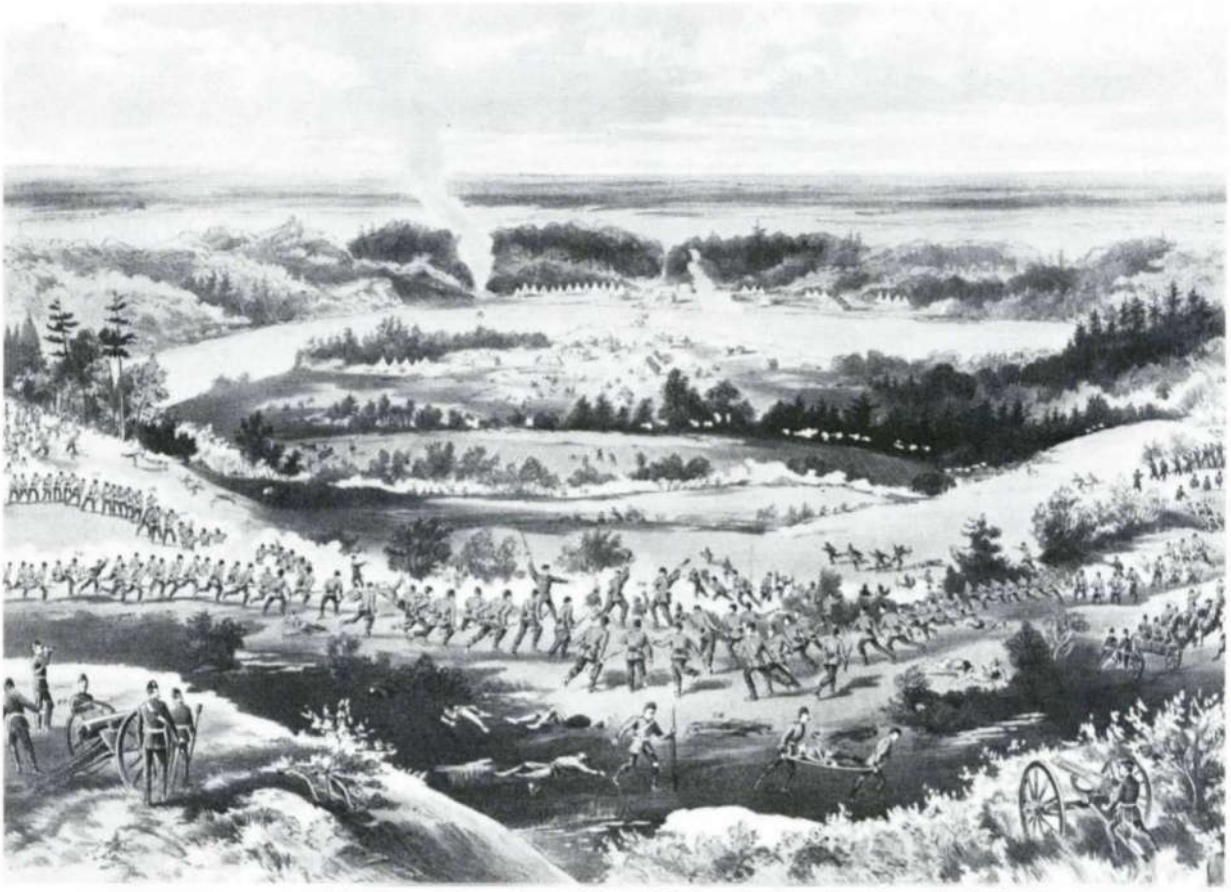
Wrigley's obligation, in this regard, was to provide the funds — Company funds — to pay the teamsters brought into service by the several contractors, of whom Bell was the most prominent. For this function, the Company earned only a small commission on its capital so tied up. But the arrangement allowed Caron, when facing questions in the Commons, to hide behind the Company. When asked for returns showing the names of contractors supplying teams, he replied, 'There again I beg to state that the only parties employed by the Department as purchasers were the Hudson Bay Company.' In the urgency of the early stages of the campaign, contractors, large and small, were charging eight to ten dollars a day per team. At peak demand for transport, there were over one thousand teams engaged at a cost of upwards of $7,000 to $8,000 per day. It did not take Wrigley long to realize the invidious position in which he was becoming enmeshed.

The real problem, however, was Middleton, who simply did as he wished. A confidant of Bell on the general's staff, informed the contractor that the 'General tells me [he] wired Hudson Bay Company necessity more teams or to give you full authority to get them.' Rather than imposing some semblance of control, Caron began to carp at Wrigley for the high cost of transport. Even before Middleton's column reached Fish Creek, Wrigley was trying to extricate himself from the growing disorder. He advised Bedson, ostensibly the chief transport officer, that 'several of the teams hired in emergency for high prices [,] suggest these being now reduced if objection made to reduction pay off high priced and substitute lower . . .' To some extent, he was scrambling to protect himself.

Over the next several weeks, Caron badgered Wrigley both to try and reduce costs and, contradictorily, to throw more of the transport business to the friends of the government. At the same time, he continued to reassure Middleton that all efforts would be undertaken to ensure adequate supplies. On one occasion, the general complained to Caron that there was no hay for his horses. The minister, in turn, telegraphed Wrigley to 'take immediate action'. Wrigley got in touch with the transport officer at Qu'Appelle who replied that there was hay but no teams to haul it. 'We have supplied all teams requisitioned for and there our duty ends but taking your message as authority have arranged for more today.'

On the matter of cost, Wrigley was caught in the middle. The most expensive teams — the ones hired at the beginning of the campaign —were also the most experienced. Middleton was very reluctant to let them go. As Wrigley pointed out repeatedly, the cost of replacing teams at the front with cheaper ones would result in little saving, since the original teams would have to be returned to their hiring location and the new ones trained. Yet the severest problem continued to be simple confusion. After a long telegram from Middleton expressing concern about the increasing length of his supply line, Caron sharply wired Wrigley: 'I do not wish any delay . . . in transport of supplies and forage.' The reply read: 'Just received following from Transport Officer "Don't require any more teams at present".'

Wrigley became quite aware that the importunate Major Bell could land everyone in a political scandal. When passing along to Caron, Bell's advice to hire



An artist's version of the capture of Batoche on 12 May 1885, from the 'Canadian Pictorial and War News'.

several hundred more teams, he tried to shift the responsibility where, in the long run, it properly belonged. 'I shall be glad of your advice as the Company has not to do with transport service; its duty being to provide and pay teams requisitioned for; fear not many more teams can be got here unless we cross the border. Shall be glad to authorize Bell to hire teams if you wish; he does not name price, fear it higher than we are paying.' His attempt to place more distance between the Company and the difficulties he now clearly foresaw continued. He was caught by the fact that the Company did not have the power to dismiss the teams, which were under military control.

General Middleton, as usual, preferred to act quite independently. He dispatched his Chief of Staff, Lord Melgund (the future Governor-General of Canada, Lord Minto), to inquire into the transport arrangements. Melgund visited Bell, where he dined at the farm, and then saw Wrigley in Winnipeg. Thus, as late as Batoche, Bell continued to enjoy Middleton's favour. Melgund, who obviously saw the problem, confided carefully and privately to his diary that, 'HBC employed contractors who engaged teams at much cheaper rates . . . HBCo most useful in first emergency, but if the campaign had continued unnecessary to continue paying them at original high rates.'

There was one way to lessen dependence on contractors such as Bell and that was to take advantage of water transport. The South Saskatchewan River would become briefly useful with the spring runoff, but was not dependably navigable until the melted snow from the mountains filled its banks. The complete water network would not be adaptable until Lake Winnipeg was clear, usually late in May. It should also be pointed out that while water-borne traffic could reduce some of the profits of greedy contractors, it would have little effect on the Company, since its subsidiary, the Winnipeg and Western Transportation Company, which owned three steamboats — *Northcote, Northwest* and *Marquis* — had as president, Joseph Wrigley.

As early as 31 March, the Company's boats had been offered to the government; but conditions were not yet suitable for their employment. As an interim measure, Wrigley suggested late in April that he could arrange for the construction of shallow draft barges which would be capable of making the journey from Saskatchewan Landing, just north of the major rail depot at Swift Current, to Clark's Crossing in four days. After an exchange of opinions, Middleton

fell in with Wrigley's scheme, which the latter argued could cut transport costs by three-quarters. Middleton, however, was primarily interested in the steamers, and not simply for their freighting capacity. In fact, the *Northcote* did reach Clarke's Crossing in time to take part in the assault on Batoche. It is revealing, in view of what happened later, to record the details of the agreement to employ her.

The terms of the arrangement were not completed until the day of the Batoche attack. On 2 May, Caron was informed that General Middleton was unable to make definite arrangements with the Company: 'would you prefer charter her or leave for present question of payment on understanding she is on Gov't Service?' Five days later, Wrigley once more asked Caron how he would like to proceed and the minister replied that he would like alternate propositions made for boats, 'per day and per ton, we selecting whichever is considered advantageous.' Wrigley advised Caron that as the *Northcote* would often be detained by the general, a charter arrangement would be more appropriate, suggesting $300 per day, including crew and fuel. Caron countered, 'Don't you think $250 per diem for "Northcote" would be good pay — Hope you can meet my views on this point.' Wrigley appeared to be quite agreeable: 'will leave pay of Northcote entirely to you and accept two hundred and fifty'. Much later Caron's actions would belie the apparent friendliness of the agreement.

The physical and logistic problems of maintaining the field force were further complicated by the incessant demands of patronage considerations. There were, first of all, those merchants throughout the West whose normal trade was interrupted and who sought government supply contracts to compensate. Businessmen across the country hoped to capitalize on the artificial demand. And then there were the friends of the government. Caron had to balance these considerations against his initial dependence on the Hudson's Bay Company. Very quickly the minister was steadily urging Wrigley to try and meet these requests which poured in upon him. Caron also had to answer the persistent harping in the House where opposition members smelled corruption everywhere. It was not that patronage was considered anything but part of the game; it was, on this occasion, simply a matter of scale.

At the outset, it was usually a matter of merchants along the route trying to pick up a little business. Thomas Marks & Sons in Port Arthur was attempting to supply the troops moving from the east. Caron asked Wrigley if he had provided for supplies from Port Arthur to Winnipeg. At this stage, Caron was very conscious of his dependence on the Company and was willing enough to stall Mr Marks. Wrigley was just as anxious as anyone else for the trade; he replied the same day that he would 'send to Nipigon all necessary supplies in cars going from here for troops,' thus cutting off Mr Marks. The same tactics, of stalling and evasion, were used to discourage I. G. Baker & Co. of Montana, a long-time rival of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Some overtures for a share of the contracts were direct; others were indirect. That old Tory politician, Alexander Galt, who had invested heavily in the West, especially in coal, leased his boats to the government. He then pestered Caron on behalf 'of my son Jack who is in business there [i.e., the wholesale business in Winnipeg] . . . you may depend on all they undertake to do. Pray do this for me.' Amos Rowe, Tory wheel-horse and editor, preferred to work through one of Caron's cabinet colleagues, Mackenzie Bowell. 'Will you request Minister Militia to instruct Wrigley to give contract for biscuits and bread to Thomas Chambers? He is good conservative and brother-in-law to Colonel Kennedy. The man [sic] that has it now are Grits and bad ones at that.'

The attempts to secure patronage contracts could even extend to the slightly ludicrous. An enterprising Brooklyn, N.Y. merchant tried to interest Wrigley in large quantities of pemmican for the troops. The latter attempted to get rid of him by saying the article was not on the government ration list. But Mr Bannerman, of the firm in question, persisted by working through Caron's office. On two occasions, Caron's private secretary wrote to Wrigley pushing the project with the explanation that the minister 'merely sends it to you in case you can use it as a friend of his takes an interest in it.' Wrigley objected strenuously, stating he would not issue pemmican without a direct order from the minister, since he feared 'very serious dissatisfaction would be expressed by the troops.' Only then did the question fade away.

Much more serious was the situation in Winnipeg. Most merchants had stocked up in anticipation of spring sales to the farming community and the expected influx of immigrants. The rebellion ended those hopes. Naturally enough, they sought to recoup something by supplying the field force and were greatly disappointed to find the government relying totally on the Hudson's Bay Company. Wrigley, of course, knew very well what was in store. He reported to Smith that there was 'General trade jealousy here against the Company.' He tried to quiet things down somewhat by inviting local merchants to send in their price lists, 'and I have promised if prices are lowest they shall have precedence.' Kenneth Mackenzie, president of the Winnipeg Board of Trade, went straight to the prime minister, requesting that all supplies be bought in Winnipeg. Macdonald, in turn, leaned on Caron, who asked Wrigley if he could purchase as much as possible in the local market. 'I think with discretion bad feeling could be allayed.'

Public Archives of Canada C-3453

General Middleton, at right, visits his two aides-de-camp, wounded in the battle at Fish Creek, 24 April 1885.

Wrigley seemed confident since 'we have not bought outside the city what can be got here, and we have given precedence to those who are in the field; have no doubt feeling will be allayed.'

But it would take time and careful handling to reduce the ill-feeling. Land Commissioner Brydges summed up the situation well when he informed Secretary Armit in London that

> The merchants here feel that all the goods they have imported this year with the expectation of selling them to immigrants, will remain on their shelves. Whilst the great bulk of goods in the H.B. store will be disposed of to a first class paymaster.

Caron was under constant pressure to spread the business around. Joseph Royal, the Tory member of Parliament for Provencher, warned him about the 'Great dissatisfaction here because of Hudson Bay Co. having all contracts to supply troops.' In his reply, Caron held out some hope of change. 'We had to meet an emergency and availed ourselves of what we could lay our hands upon with a certainty of providing for the wants of our troops. Will see what can be done for the future.' Wrigley, meanwhile, did his best to keep as many Winnipeg merchants content as he could.

But Caron would not leave Wrigley to handle the problem. 'I send you a list of names handed me by some of our friends here,' he wrote privately. 'I understand fully the difficulty in which you are placed, but my object is to keep people quiet as much as possible in that district.' In replying, Wrigley was as tactful as possible. 'Our difficulty is not in distributing purchases as you suggest but in avoiding the inferior articles offered us which if sent to the troops would cause a great disturbance and do injury to the H.B. Co. . . . I will mention the names given to our supply officer, who I am sure will do what he can.'

The necessity of soothing the Winnipeg business community was merely confirmation to Caron of his growing political dilemma. His reliance on the Hudson's Bay Company was making him openly vulnerable to criticism; yet any overt attempt to decrease that dependence might alienate the Company and jeopardize the supply situation. So he tried to have it both ways. As early as 4 April, Colonel W. H. Jackson was ordered to Winnipeg to 'take steps for the formation of a Commissariat Corps. Until you receive further instructions with regard to direct purchases you will continue to receive necessary stores from Hudson's Bay Company.' Not surprisingly, Wrigley reacted immediately, asking Caron to please define the Company's position with Colonel Jackson. Covering his tracks, Caron responded that 'Col. Jackson will requisition you — But no intention interfering with what has been done at present.' Yet the same day, the minister requested that Middleton begin ordering through Jackson, a suggestion which met with almost no success at all. Wrigley wired urgently, 'There must be somebody here to give instructions. Jackson says he has no authority', to which Caron replied that he had 'instructed Jackson to get rations etc. from you. Full instructions have been sent him. No trouble can occur in future.' But a week later, Wrigley was back again, inquiring, 'Have you ordered any Officer to buy provisions here, not through us? We are informed they are buying and the market necessarily affected by it. What are your wishes as we have just received your instructions to continue buying?' Caron denied it and ordered Wrigley to keep on purchasing as instructed. The latter sensed what was afoot and, in a long telegram, tried to make the Company's case: that the commission paid to the Company

> must be less than the cost of an organization which would have to be prepared and would take a long time to get into working order. . . .[We] fail to see what can be more advantageous, as Government has use of all Company's organization over whole territories, which Government would not care to establish for itself.

What made Wrigley apprehensive was that Caron would quietly set up his own commissariat, with his own people, and the Company would be cut adrift with no secure contracts, its normal business

Public Archives of Canada C-3447

The steamer 'Northcote', chartered from the HBC to carry supplies and troops. Low water on the South Saskatchewan River hampered her progress, although the 'Northcote' did reach Batoche in time to play a part in the battle.

deranged, its property destroyed and no effective claim on the government.

He had good reason to be concerned. The financial arrangement between the Company and the government was unsatisfactory at best, given the massive scale of the operation. On 29 March, with the approval of Smith and, ultimately, the Governor and Committee in London, Wrigley advised Caron of the charges. 'We propose making all goods supplied by us at regular wholesale price and 5 per cent on all advance and payment for transport, wages, goods bought, etc.' Two weeks later, he telegraphed Smith in Montreal that he had received no reply from Caron, and concluded that the proposal had been accepted. But he could hardly rely on this, considering the sums involved. A week later with still no approval from Ottawa, Wrigley asked Smith, 'shall we apply for written contract, or do you think present position sufficient. Dealing now with large amounts.' The following day he again sought acknowledgement from Caron. Finally, on 23 April, the minister replied, 'Your telegram of 29th March was duly received. The arrangements proposed by you about supplies is accepted for present.' Despite the implicit uncertainty, it would have to do.

As Caron was able to put more of his own people in place, there was a consequent reduction in services required from the Company, such as surrogate paymaster, a function that had been performed at some posts, especially Qu'Appelle and Calgary. Colonel Jackson informed Wrigley on 2 May 'that no further advances may be made by the H.B. Co. or its agents on account of pay.' On the eve of Batoche, then, the Company had rendered many services in support of the field force. An interim statement was sent to Wrigley by Lieutenant Colonel C. E. Panet, the deputy minister of the Militia Department, which indicated that the government had honoured drafts by the Company to the sum of $210,000 to 7 May and requested that 'you will be good enough to furnish me, at your earliest convenience, with a statement in detail of expenditures on this account.' Even in Winnipeg, Wrigley could feel the chill setting in.

After Batoche, the military aspect of the campaign in the Northwest changed markedly. For the next month, operations were essentially of a mop-up character with small units pursuing Poundmaker and Big Bear until they were hounded into surrender. Logistics, especially transport, were still tricky; but the difficulties eased considerably when water transport became feasible throughout the region. The remaining problems to be resolved cast considerable light on relations among Wrigley, Caron and Middleton.

Knowing that Caron was under great pressure to keep expenses to a minimum, Wrigley contacted Bedson, whom Middleton had appointed his chief transport officer, and advised him to consult the general about reducing teams as the water route would soon be open. Lieutenant Colonel Whitehead, whom Caron had appointed chief transport officer, located in Winnipeg, informed the minister that he was about to begin reorganizing the transport system by replacing high-priced teams still with the general. He asked if Middleton had been advised, 'so as his appointments of Supply and Transport Officers in the field would recognize and requisition on me.' For his part, Wrigley thought the whole exercise foolish indeed, since the rivers would be clear within the fortnight and the bulk of the teams could be dismissed. But he was determined to offer more than sound advice. He felt he 'must however remind the

Government that at their request, the company at a moment's notice came to their assistance with their whole organization and have worked incessantly. . . . A change now would be looked upon as placing the Company in a position . . . I cannot think the Government contemplate.'

Despite Wrigley's repeated suggestions to the contrary, Caron ordered him to cancel all existing contracts and instructed Whitehead to begin replacing the high-priced teams. In acknowledging the directive, Wrigley signified his acquiesence, but reminded the minister again that control of the transport was not in his hands; he simply filled requisitions. In his reply, Caron began to admit the serious underlying difficulty. 'I am under [the] impression that transport was under your control — Let me know who manages this.' He did not have to wait long for the explanation he should have been aware of long before. Wrigley relayed the following day a telegram from Bedson, which said, 'have consulted Gen'l, impossible to reduce transport at once.' Finally screwing up his courage, Caron broached Middleton:

> Lt. Col. Whitehead has been appointed transport and supply officer at Winnipeg. Do not wish to interfere with your operations, but think that by your giving instructions to Whitehead about your requirements, expensive contracts could be cancelled . . . without affecting efficiency of service.

It did little good. Swinford, at Troy, said flatly that he 'will not play second fiddle to any of them. General Middleton today wired Col Whitehead that he was not to interfere with me in any way or Col Forrest.' Two days later, he was reassured that the general 'evidently intends to back his staff up against the Minister of Militia even.' The whole mess became hopelessly confused in clashes between Bedson and Whitehead. Then, incredibly, Caron sent the following message to Middleton, 'Bedson and Bell are good men, but known to be speculators. . . . I never knew that Bell was employed by us and until Melgund returned that Bedson was in charge of transport. I need not tell you that I am anxious that all charges which will be submitted to Parliament be such that they can bear the light of day.' Well he might be anxious, for it was transport costs in general and Bell, in particular, upon which the opposition concentrated its fire in the House. But as a contentious issue of the moment, the transport problem disappeared with the ice on the rivers and lakes.

By July the campaign was over, and Wrigley's attentions were returning to Company concerns. He allowed the *Northcote* to assist in moving the troops to the railway for the trip home; but bristled when Middleton attempted to commandeer other Company boats for the purpose. He instructed Captain Swinford, 'If you are asked to bring Pitt troops down on *Northwest* decline. . . . we must not be interfered with.' Thus, as Wrigley was trying to pick up the pieces of Company business and the western prairie sought a return to more accustomed pursuits, Middleton returned to a hero's welcome and a purse of $20,000 voted by a grateful parliament. The officers and men paraded in triumph and then put away their belatedly awarded campaign medals.

During the course of the campaign, Wrigley had attempted to keep London apprised of the financial implications of events as best he could. In early June, he informed Armit, by his rough calculation,

> . . . there has been received about a million dollars. Further requirements are likely to reach another half million dollars. It is difficult to ascertain the profit but as well as can be calculated there should be from £15,000 to £20,000. I trust the Board will think that a satisfactory result for the Company. Certainly the Government would have spent considerably more if it had not been for the assistance of the Company.

While it wasn't quite whistling to keep his spirits up, Wrigley was clearly trying to put the best face on the situation. These payments were for goods furnished by the Company, at wholesale, on which there was a reduced profit and a 5 per cent commission on Company funds used for the purchase of supplies, the payment of transport, and pay for members of the field force, which would work out to about 7 per cent over all.

Set against this, however, were several liabilities. The fur trade had been badly interrupted, jeopardizing two years' trade because of the extended forwarding network. The Company had also to be concerned about the attitude of the government toward property losses sustained during the rebellion. Forts Carlton and Pitt had been completely destroyed; others were heavily damaged. Furs and goods were pillaged at Green Lake and elsewhere. There was also the severe effect on the Company's land business. Both immigration and sales came to a halt and conditions throughout the territory were so disrupted that Brydges, the land commissioner, sent out a circular to earlier purchasers to ease their plight. 'The Company are ready to defer payment of instalments to meet the present condition of financial affairs in the country.' The outlook was so gloomy that Governor Eden Colvile announced to the General Court held in London at the end of June that for the first time since the Red River disturbance, the Board did not feel justified in recommending an annual dividend. Their decision was based upon low prices at the winter fur sales and anxiety about the disruption and loss caused by the rebellion.

Wrigley's immediate challenge, as the campaign

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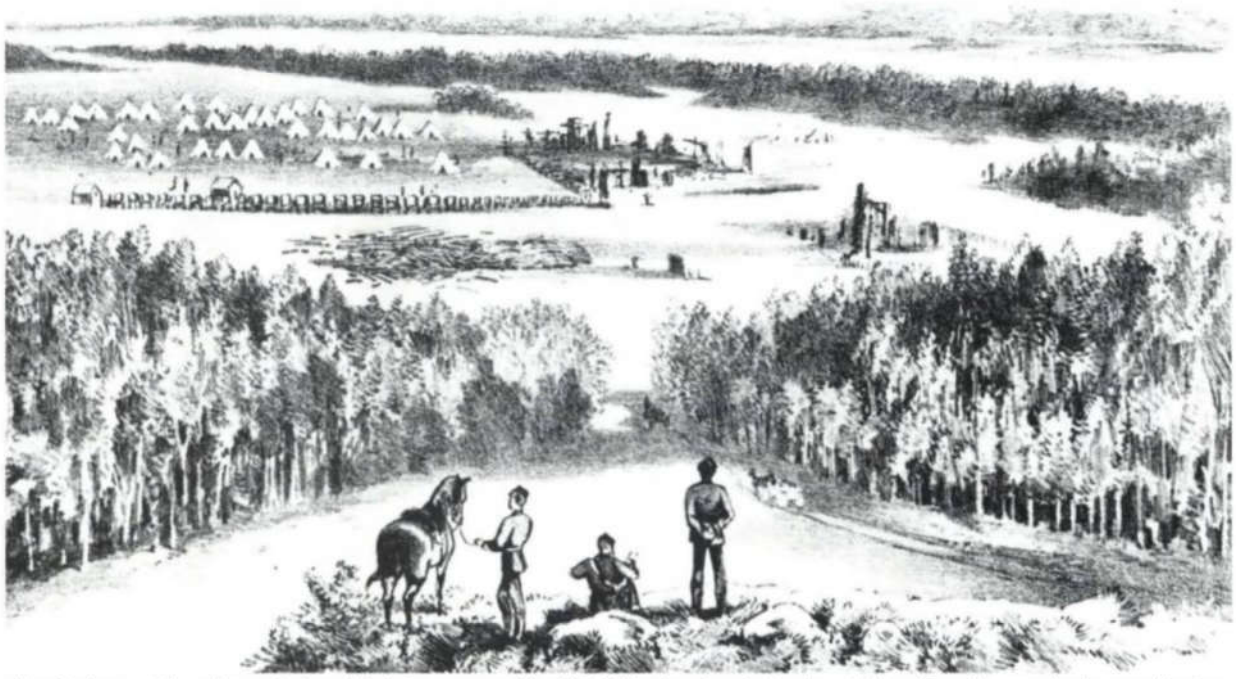


Fort Carlton accidentally caught fire while being evacuated by N W M P and settlers during the rebellion. Fort Pitt was also destroyed by fire, and several other H B C posts were heavily damaged.

concluded, was simply to collect for services rendered. The Deputy Minister of Militia directed Jackson to ensure that Company 'accounts should be carefully examined & certified to by the proper officers before they are forwarded to the Department of Militia and Defence.' The new leisure allowed the re-imposition of traditional bureaucratic controls on engagements undertaken hurriedly in the early days of the emergency. Even more startling was the attitude of the minister. While Wrigley was away trying to estimate the Company's property loss, his assistant, William Clark, submitted some claims for payment. Caron's brusque reply was 'I am not aware of any contract which obliged Government to pay any claim which has not been previously rendered to Department.' Wrigley thought he had provided against this when he reminded Jackson of the circumstances at the outbreak, when 'everything was hurry and confusion'. He hoped that if 'all is not exactly in order, I venture to think that it will not be thought necessary to lay great stress on any little irregularity.' He should have known better.

In the end, all accounts were considered by a war claims commission, composed of Jackson, Whitehead and Forrest. The commission sat through the summer and autumn of 1885 and on into the winter. Its proceedings dragged so annoyingly, that at the end of August, Wrigley decided to go to Ottawa himself. On his return, his disappointment was evident when he informed Armit, 'The action of the Government in some respects has latterly been not altogether what might have been expected.' There was no further decision on the Company's claims until Caron visited Winnipeg in mid-November. After what appears to have been some hard bargaining, Wrigley was able to report that, '$100,000 more has been paid. This now leaves from about seventy to eighty thousand dollars in addition which is also shortly to be paid.' In fact, it would take another meeting, in Ottawa, attended by Caron, Jackson and Wrigley in mid-February, the following year, to resolve the issue. The Hudson's Bay Company claimed that $77,032.64 was still owing for services provided to the field force. Jackson, on behalf of the commission, was willing to allow it, only after a reduction of $23,123.19. The result was a decision to split the difference and the Company received $65,471.05 as a final settlement of its claims.

At the same meeting, the dispute over costs of chartering the *Northcote* was considered. Wrigley was, of course, counting on the fact that he had

simply allowed Caron to set the conditions and the per diem charter rate. Middleton had then employed the boat as he chose until the campaign ended. Yet the claims commission reported that if the general, himself, had not signed the certificates, they would have recommended that the claim be substantially reduced. This too was compromised.

The recovery of property losses due to the rebellion was to prove a lengthy process indeed. A Royal Commission on Rebellion Losses, chaired by J. Alphonse Ouimet, was finally appointed in the autumn of 1885. Wrigley prepared the Company's claims and sent them to London for approval before they were submitted. His recommendations were sensible: replacement costs should be sought for buildings destroyed; for furs destroyed or stolen, he suggested the average of the price received over the preceding three years; and for stores and provisions pillaged, landed cost plus 10 per cent for interest and administrative expense. The board, however, chose not to take his advice. He was informed that they 'have decided to add 25½% to the valuation of the goods at Cost Landed in order to bring the amount of their retail sale prices.'

The claim was prepared as directed and submitted to the commission in the amount of $207,115.84. The case of the Hudson's Bay Company was heard by the commission at Prince Albert in May, 1886. It took another year for Ouimet's commission to make its report; and it recommended a settlement for the Company of $163,768.54. The reductions included a minor item in regard to the buildings of Fort Carlton, its decision to value furs at local market prices and its refusal to admit the Company's claim for a 25½ per cent surcharge on landed costs of the stores. Three months later, Wrigley received a cheque for the amount of the award. He immediately approached the Minister of Interior to try and recover the reduction of over $45,000. He was informed that the surcharge of $34,072.83 was 'entirely rejected by the Commissioners'.

For another year, Wrigley struggled loyally to recover the reductions by writing almost everyone he knew in Ottawa. In August, 1888, he acknowledged the receipt of a further payment of $1,369.32 but declined to accept it as 'a full and complete settlement of the Company's claim against the Government'. He should have taken it; for another year's importuning produced nothing. The Company would get no more.

The Government of Canada took great pride in its rapid suppression of the rebellion. And, indeed, there was some justification. An army had been hastily put together and moved two thousand miles to the North-West Territories. It had fought successfully under difficult conditions. The defeat of some 400-500 Métis and the capture of Big Bear and Poundmaker may, perhaps, have prevented a general Indian outbreak. But that is purely conjecture. The enemy they did face was weak and ill-equipped; its tragic gesture doomed in advance.

The military success was the result of Middleton's aggressive strategy — to strike directly for Riel's headquarters at Batoche — and troops that behaved admirably for ones so inexperienced. But it depended as well on the support system stitched together and based primarily on the organization of the Hudson's Bay Company. Caron, to his credit, made public acknowledgement of this in the House, when he stated, 'I question whether, if it had not been for the help given to the Department by the Hudson's Bay Company and the valuable assistance given us by Mr. Wrigley . . . it would not have been impossible to achieve what we have achieved.' But Caron had enormously complicated matters by his failure to restrain the bull-headed Middleton and establish some firm civilian control over events. Wrigley and the Company well merited his accolade; for, despite the accusations after the fact, there was little profit in the affair for them when all things were considered.

None of the three major players in this story were to go on to greater things. Caron, to be sure, was granted the honour of Knight Commander of the Order of St Michael and St George in recognition of his services; but in 1892 he was shunted to the office of Postmaster General. Sir Charles Tupper subsequently dropped him from the Cabinet and he retired in 1900. Middleton's fate was more pathetic. He, Bedson and another officer had seized and divided among themselves as booty the furs of a Métis who had been improperly arrested. In 1887, when the issue became public, the general denied the charge. The explanation he gave when he was examined by a committee of the House of Commons in 1890, goes far in establishing the primary cause of all the confusion and contradiction that plagued the logistics of the campaign in the Northwest: 'I thought I was the ruling power up there, . . . and that I could do pretty much as I liked.' His tattered reputation was mended somewhat by his subsequent appointment by Queen Victoria as Keeper of the Crown Jewels. Joseph Wrigley remained in his position until 1894 and abruptly returned to England under circumstances that are not at all clear.

As for the Canadian Militia, neither Caron nor his immediate successors made any move to reform its totally inadequate support services. The final irony, therefore, came in 1898 when the militia was again called out. The Yukon Field Force was dispatched to establish the Dominion's presence after the discovery of gold — again without proper transport and supplies. They were forced to rely on the only local organization which could provide these services, the Hudson's Bay Company, with, it must be said, the same unsatisfactory outcome. ◆

CARIBOU AND THE BARREN-LANDS

By George Calef. Firefly Books Limited, Scarborough, 1981. 176 pp., maps, illus. $34.95.

Reviewed by R. W. Sutton

In his stirring foreword David Brower, Chairman of Friends of the Earth International, states 'The beauty of the caribou and its homeland have long been celebrated by the Eskimo people.' It would be no exaggeration to add that George Calef's splendid book now reveals that world in a fashion unequalled by any other.

One seeking for information on the caribou, depending upon his particular line of enquiry, might look for specialized papers dealing with the barren-ground caribou in such areas as life history, predator-prey relationships, ecology and environment, geographical distribution, use as a human resource, effects of industrial development, population dynamics, parasitic infestations, migration patterns, social behaviour — the list is endless. What Dr Calef has done is to present, with varying degrees of emphasis, these things and more under the all-embracing title of *Caribou and the Barren-lands.*

Says Calef, 'The empty tundra may appear a drab and barren place, but let one caribou trot onto the skyline of an esker and the land comes alive. These pages record the drama that may still be witnessed today — by following the caribou.' Following the caribou under the author's guidance is a thoroughly informative trek, supported by an effective prose style seldom encountered in the writings of wildlife biologists.

Part I, 'A year of life on the barren-lands' begins with the spring migration, moves on to the calving grounds, takes us through the caribou summer into autumn ('The hunter's moon') and completes the annual cycle with 'Winter, The time of testing'. Throughout this presentation, the major body of Calef's book, not only the caribou but the other life forms with which they share the barren-grounds are so portrayed as to give an immensely vivid picture of our north country and the creatures which, as permanent residents or summer dwellers, form a vital part of our heritage.

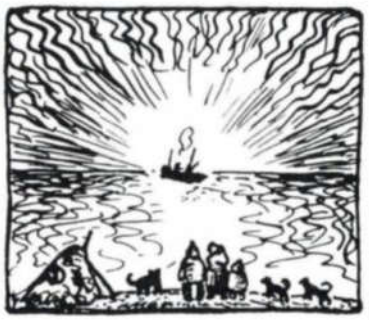
Part II, 'Men and herds on the barren-lands', quite brief when measured against the main body of this book, deals with the future of the caribou, and with the effects of predation (resource utilization) by humans and other members of the animal kingdom, notably wolves. Wasteful and extravagant killing of caribou by hunters is clearly recognized by the author. This reviewer has had the doubtful privilege of viewing many hundreds of caribou remains lining a downstream caribou crossing where, for the hunters' purposes, retrieval of the carcasses was simply unnecessary effort.

States the author, 'The best possible use of the vast reaches of tundra and northern forests is to support large herds of barren-ground caribou *that can yield abundance for the hunter'* (reviewer's italics). I wonder if, with the centralization of northern native communities, this will much longer hold true. I suspect that, now, much native hunting of caribou is carried out because it is 'the thing to do'. It is the confirmation of the native right, the expression of the native *need* to hunt.

Dr Calef cites the almost unbelievable series of events leading to the shocking reduction of the Western Arctic herd in Alaska. Briefly, there were a quarter of a million animals in 1970. With kills of twenty to thirty thousand per year by hunters, the vast herd was reduced to about 100,000 by 1975. By 1976, with no action taken, 65,000 animals remained. As the author makes clear, such severe reductions came about through the advent of mechanized hunting (aircraft, snowmobile, and motorboat). It is, at least to this writer, unfortunate that while advocating control of hunting, the author supports wolf control programs as well. He makes a good case for killing wolves by 'selective shooting from the air' especially by native people, with pelt sales as an additional source of revenue. There are many, as the author himself concedes, who doubt the wisdom of attempting to perpetuate one species by the deliberate reduction of another.

The exceptionally readable prose style is handsomely supported by the author's competence as a photographer. His photographs are creative, evocative and immensely effective. In fact, if published with brief captions, the photographs by themselves could carry the reader through the caribou year.

Deliberately avoiding the too-frequent modifiers 'in Canada' or 'by a Canadian', I suggest that



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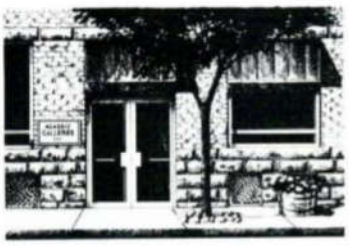

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Richard Sutton is Chief of Interpretation for Parks Canada, Prairie Region.

ROGUES, REBELS, AND GENIUSES:
The Story of Canadian Medicine

By Donald Jack. Doubleday Canada Ltd., Toronto, 1981. 662 pp., illus. $24.95.

Reviewed by John D. Griffin

This book is not a history of Canadian medicine in the academic sense, but it certainly represents a major contribution to the popular knowledge of the lives and personalities of those Canadians who from earliest times have devoted themselves to the healing arts. It is a record of heroic struggles against geographic and climatic conditions; it describes adventures in exploration; it tells of scientific research and discovery, of human strength and weakness, humour and tragedy. In short it provides an interesting new perspective on many aspects of Canada's history.

Donald Jack, the son of a Peterborough physician, and a successful novelist and playwright, has prepared this substantial volume in which anecdotes and short biographical sketches about doctors and healers are interwoven with reference to significant historical events. He sketches the gradual development of modern medical concepts beginning with the world's most ancient recorded ideas. The beliefs held by the original Canadians about disease and the procedures and rituals followed by a typical Indian shaman or medicine man are then described.

With the arrival of the early French explorers such as Jacques Cartier a certain amount of cultural conflict was bound to occur. The Indians and Europeans regarded the medical practices of one another with curiosity and suspicion. The Indian brew made from the leaves and bark of the 'annedda' (presumably a species of evergreen) provided a dramatic cure for the terrible scurvy which had decimated Cartier's crews. But the life-saving medicine — really vitamin C — was forgotten and neglected for the next two hundred years.

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References to historical highlights are treated with a wry sense of humour. In the War of 1812 the generals of both sides were evenly matched, 'incompetence on the one side nicely balancing the ineptitude on the other'. General Isaac Brock became a national hero when 'he had his brains blown out by a bullet through the heart'!

A view of pioneer life on the West Coast is provided by the story of John Sebastian Helmcken. A shy undersized lad with an oversized head, he graduated from Guys Hospital, London, in 1848. Two years later he sailed into Esquimault, Vancouver Island, as a surgeon and private secretary to the governor. Under contract to the Hudson's Bay Company, which paid him £100 annually for five years, he quickly adapted to the new world, extending his practice over an enormous area of the island from his base at Fort Victoria. His diaries reveal that his therapeutic procedures were simple: 'An emetic as soon as the patient fell ill followed by a purge as soon as he was weak enough'. As other pioneer doctors had observed, he noted that 'when there was no doctor within easy call the people remained healthy. . . . when medical aid became readily available general health deteriorated'. Like so many early Canadian doctors it was inevitable that Helmcken would enter politics. He was appointed speaker of the newly established legislative assembly and held a series of important government appointments.

Emily Carr, the famous artist, described his surgical technique when, as a young girl in the late 1800s, she had a broken needle deeply imbedded under her knee cap. The operation was performed on the kitchen table without an anaesthetic. 'The doctor cut slits in my knee and wriggled his finger around inside it for three hours hunting for pieces of the needle. . . . [He] said "Yell, Lassie, yell! It will let the pain out." I did yell but the pain stayed in.' When finished 'he washed his hands under the kitchen tap and gave me a peppermint.' Anaesthesia and antisepsis were common practice by this time in the larger Canadian centres but the pioneer doctors were sometimes reluctant to use them.

Even in the twentieth century the country doctor's life was often difficult. C. Lamont MacMillan was a family practitioner in Cape

In response to requests from our readers, we have ordered an additional number of tamarack geese for sale through The Beaver. These are available at the following prices:

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Breton, having graduated from Dalhousie Medical School in 1928. One evening he received a call from a lumber camp where a man had gashed his foot with an axe and was bleeding badly. The doctor set out with his horse and sleigh in a howling, bitterly cold winter storm. Inevitably he found the road blocked by a fallen tree. He helped his horse over the tree, got under the sleigh and lifted it on his shoulders shouting at the same time 'Get Up!'. This manoeuvre got him over the tree but he was subsequently stuck repeatedly in deep snow drifts and literally had to keep digging out both himself and the horse. He finally arrived at the camp at midnight completely exhausted, only to find that the patient didn't really need him after all. The laceration would have healed without stitches.

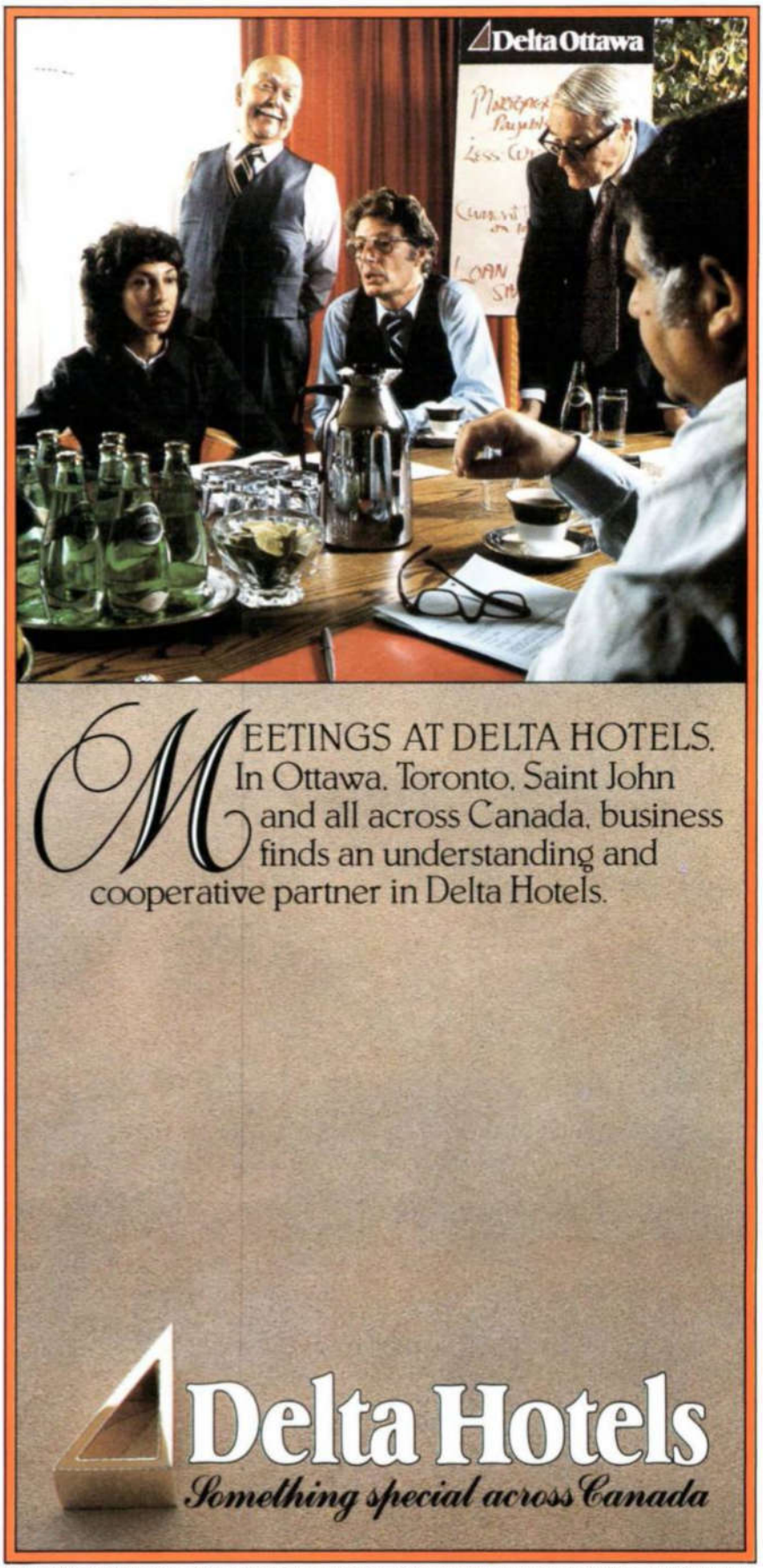
The book contains stories of some of the more important medical discoveries made in Canada by such men as Banting (insulin) and Penfield (brain localization) and accounts of the careers of Canadians who became world leaders in medical education such as William Osler.

For the most part the author has depended on published biographies and similar secondary sources for his material. That this can result in inaccuracies is conceded. 'In history' he states, 'no account should be accepted as being wholly reliable. History's raw material, the facts, or what are thought to be facts, are perceived through the colour filter of the historian's eye.'

It is unfortunate too that a book as important as this should have so many typographical and spelling errors. Proper names are often mispelled — Toke for Tuke for instance and Kirkbridge for Kirkbride. Even more serious is the omission from the list of Canadian medical schools at the end of the book of McMaster University's Faculty of Medicine. The services of a knowledgeable editor could have prevented most of these annoying mistakes.

Many will wonder why their own favourite medical heroes were omitted. Nevertheless they will concede, I think, that the selection was reasonably representative. The result is a book of high interest and well worth reading.

Dr John Griffin is a former General Director of the Canadian Mental Health Association.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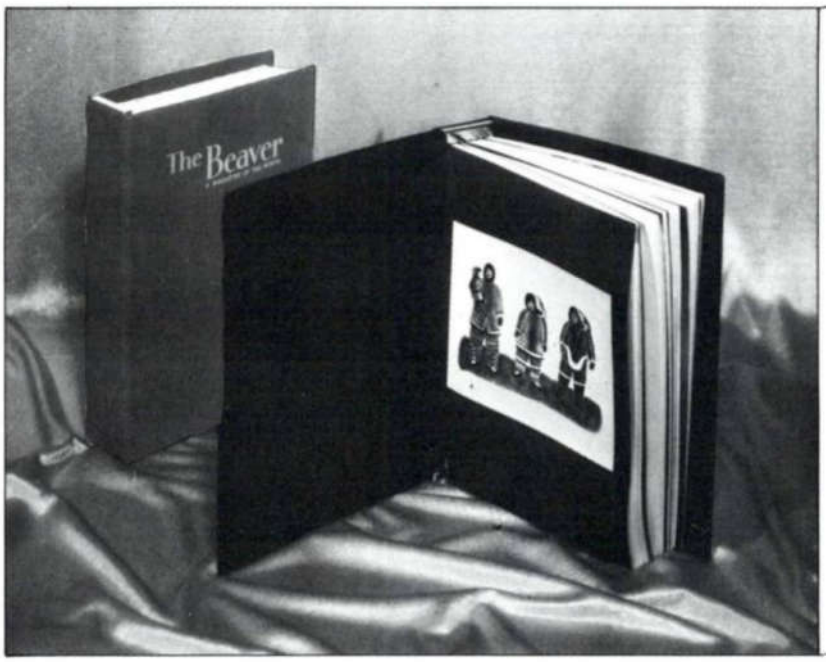

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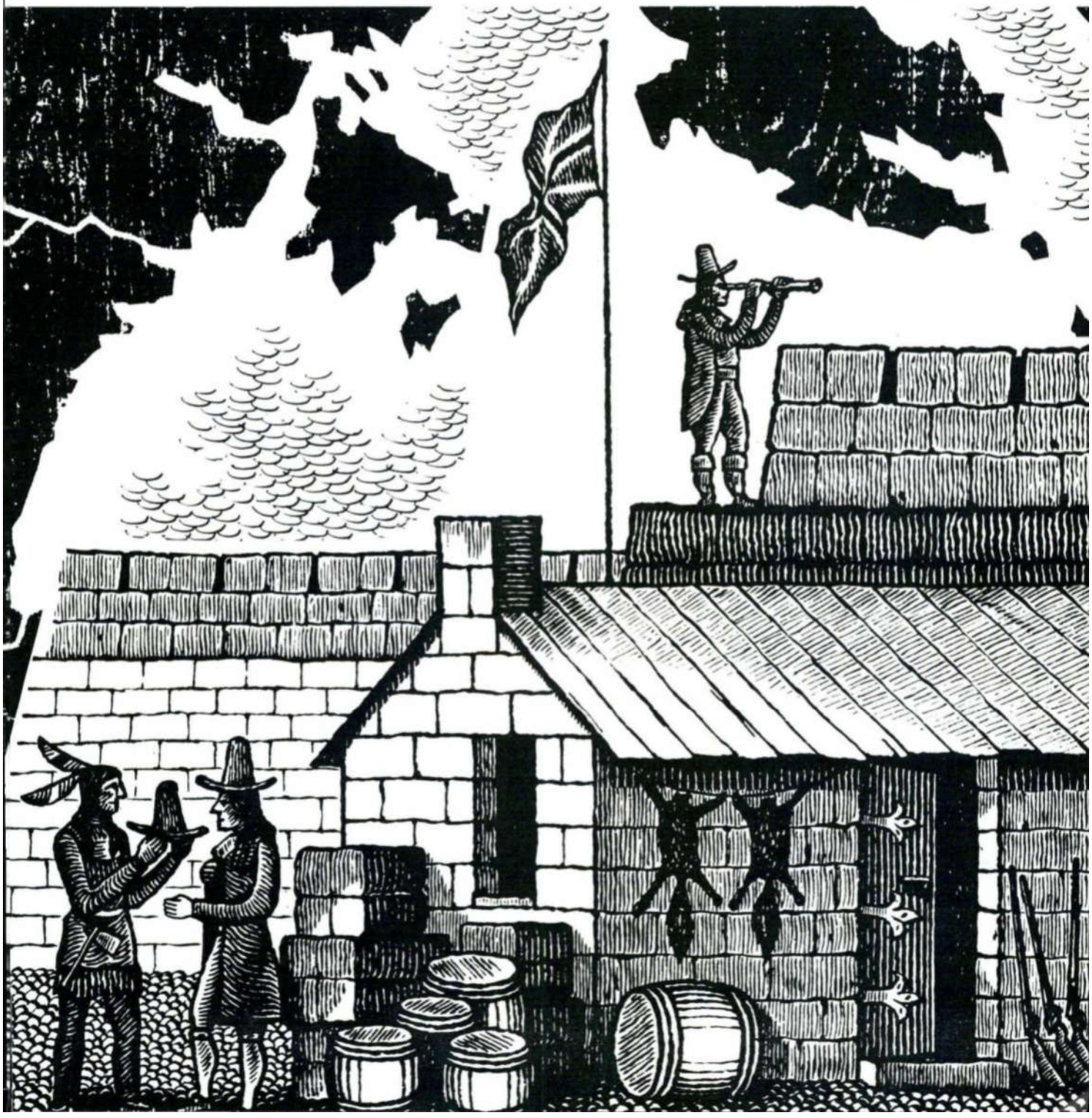

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